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DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING DR. ANDREI SAKHAROV

COMPLETED
137.

JOINT HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AND THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

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DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING DR. ANDREI SAKHAROV

TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1986

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND ITS SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, AND ITS SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS,

Washington, DC.

The subcommittees met, at 10:10 a.m., in room 2255, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Gus Yatron (chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations) and Hon. Gerry Sikorski (chairman of the Subcommittee on Investigations) presiding.

Mr. YATRON [presiding]. The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and the Subcommittee on Investigations of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee will come to order.

Before I read my opening statement, I would like to welcome our honored and distinguished guest, Yelena Bonner. We are proud and pleased to welcome you here today, Dr. Bonner. Would you please stand up so that everyone can recognize you?

Dr. Bonner.

[Applause.]

Mr. YATRON. Time and again, we have asked questions regarding the refuseniks, the persecuted religious groups, the political prisoners languishing in asylums, and all other Soviet dissidents. Today, our questions are being asked on behalf of an individual who epitomizes the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union, Dr. Andrei Sakharov. While our past inquiries on behalf of this famous human rights activist have been met by the Soviet authorities with silence, we hope today to shatter the silence surrounding this man and expose the heinous crimes leveled against him by the Soviet Government.

Sakharov, an outstanding physicist and winner of the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize, once belonged to the Soviet scientific elite and enjoyed close relations within high circles. That was before Dr. Sakharov espoused peaceful coexistence and began to view himself as a citizen of the world. His consciousness of the rights of an individual person, the rights of nations, and the rights of humankind soon became the ideology of the human rights movement.

When Sakharov was exiled in Gorky, over 5 years ago, Yelena Bonner became her husband's strongest link to the outside world.

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Without her perseverance and dedication, the vital knowledge her husband imparted to the world may have been lost. The best account of what Andrei Sakharov and Yelena Bonner have experienced can be given by Sakharov himself, in this quotation describing the plight of dissidents, and I quote:

> They are forced to wage a ceaseless struggle for their human dignity and to maintain their convictions against the indoctrination machine; in fact, against the destruction of their souls.

Not only is the Soviet Union engaged in mental and spiritual genocide, it also may be adding mail tampering to its array of atrocities. It is my hope that this hearing focuses worldwide attention on the plight of Dr. Andrei Sakharov. He and his wife have fought so valiantly to preserve the rights of others. Now it is up to us to do what we can to preserve theirs.

I would like to commend the gentleman from New York, Mr. Ben Gilman, for his dedication and outstanding leadership in bringing this vital issue before the Congress.

I would now like to call on the co-chair of this hearing, the Honorable Gerry Sikorski, chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Subcommittee on Investigations.

Chairman Sikorski, would you like to make an opening statement?

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

This is a joint hearing of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Subcommittee on Investigations of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. We are here today to receive testimony on a matter of vital importance that falls under rule 10 of the U.S. House of Representatives within the jurisdiction of both subcommittees. The pattern of gross interference by the Soviet Union with the mail coming from and going to its citizens and U.S. mailers is of critical concern to these subcommittees both as a postal issue and as an issue of basic human rights.

No case is more dramatic and illustrative of such Soviet mischief than that of Dr. Andrei Sakharov and Yelena Bonner. Even though he is among the most eminent of Soviet scientists and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Dr. Sakharov has been held in internal exile in the closed city of Gorky for the past 6 years.

Before last November, when the Soviet Government permitted Yelena Bonner to come to the United States for medical treatment and before Dr. Sakharov's family was allowed to contact him by telephone, serious and, as we know from secreted letters, well-founded questions were raised about the health and the very existence of the Sakharovs. At various times, their family in the United States did not know whether they were alive, whether they had been separated, or whether they had initiated new hunger strikes, and the sole source of reliable information about their condition was through the international mails. We now have convincing evidence that correspondence was both altered and withheld by Soviet officials so as to purposefully spread disinformation, mislead the family and friends, isolate the Sakharovs, and cover up human rights violations. It has also brought great shame on the Soviet Government.

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Regrettably, these shenanigans are nothing new for the Soviets. In investigations over the past 8 years, our subcommittee has found, that for their political reasons, Soviet authorities systematically interfere with thousands of pieces of mail to and from certain addressees and groups. Today, the plight of the Sakharovs and their family serves as an illustration of many others, less famous but with stories that are no less compelling. These people want only to be allowed to communicate with their loved ones, to be able to rejoice if there is good news, mourn if there is bad—to exercise the fundamental human right to expression.

The Soviet Union does not have the right to interfere with international mail. It is illegal. It violates regulations and protocols of the Universal Postal Union, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the constitution and laws of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics itself. Yet it is done, and that will be shown one more time today.

Our colleague from New York, the Honorable Benjamin Gilman, has for years been a tireless worker on behalf of thousands whose efforts to communicate with their families and friends have been disrupted by Soviet censors and KGB enforcers. These subcommittees have a proud record of assisting these efforts, and our hearing today continues this partnership for human rights in international communications.

Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Chairman Sikorski.

I would now like to call on the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, the Honorable Gerald Solomon.

Do you have an opening statement, Mr. Solomon?

Mr. SOLOMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. At the outset, let me apologize, because I will have to leave in just a few minutes to make a quorum call of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee, and I will be right back.

But, Mr. Chairmen, let me thank you, Mr. Yatron, and Mr. Sikorski, along with Congressman Ben Gilman, who has been a leader on this issue, for holding this hearing today. Our hearing today is a solemn and a momentous occasion for these subcommittees, and we are honored to have Yelena Bonner present with us today. It is a deep honor. Her testimony of courage and perseverance in the face of Soviet tyranny is an inspiration to me, to you, and to millions of people throughout the world on both sides of the Iron Curtain. And I think words are inadequate to express our profound respect and our admiration for Yelena Bonner and her husband Andrei Sakharov.

Mr. Chairman, the continuing plight of Andrei Sakharov is truly a pathetic commentary of human rights conditions within the Soviet Union today. It is pathetic. In any other country Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena would be held up for the very highest of national honors, of public recognition, for their manifold attainments in the disciplines of science, philosophy, and ethics. As it is, however, the Sakharovs are treated as nonpersons, nonpeople, strangers in exile in their own land.

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On this occasion, I think it would be worthwhile for all of us to remember the citations that accompanied Dr. Sakharov's Nobel Peace Prize in 1975. The final paragraph of that citation reads, and I quote:

> Sakharov's love of truth and strong belief in the inviolability of the human being, his fight against violence and brutality, his courageous defense of the freedom of the spirit, his unselfishness and strong humanitarian convictions have turned him into the spokesman for the conscious of mankind, which the world so sorely needs today.

Mr. Chairman, in conducting this hearing today I think we, as Members of Congress, are declaring our solidarity with this gifted couple in their hour of need. And it is an hour of need. We also are adding our voice, the voice of the American people, to an international chorus of outrage expressing revulsion and indignation at the way in which the Soviet authorities have treated Dr. Sakharov and his wife.

All of the hypocrisy behind Mr. Gorbachev's smiles stands exposed today before the world. When the foremost advocate of peace, of human rights and all of the other humane values in the world today, languishes in isolation and in exile, then the statements and the intentions of the Soviet leadership must be seriously challenged on every subject. We all pray that the Soviets will not succeed in breaking the body of Dr. Sakharov. We know they will not break his mind and his spirit, or that of his wife.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Solomon.

Now I would like to call on our colleague, the gentleman from New York, who has been at the forefront of this very important issue. Congressman Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank our distinguished chairman of our Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Yatron, and our distinguished chairman of our Subcommittee on Investigations of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Sikorski, for arranging this hearing today and bringing before us distinguished panelists.

I would like to welcome our witnesses here today and thank them for taking their time from their busy schedules to present testimony on an extremely important issue. And I extend a special welcome to Alexey Semyonov, son of Dr. Yelena Bonner. It was not long ago that his fast by the Soviet Embassy brought much needed international attention to the plight of Dr. Sakharov.

I am pleased to be able to continue working with the Subcommittee on Investigations and the Subcommittee on Human Rights on this important issue.

Permit me to give you just a brief history of our committee's efforts to date, the Postal Committee, in investigating the interruption of mail.

Every year thousands of postal items bound for the Soviet Union are opened, inspected, and frequently confiscated by Soviet postal officials. Today's hearing follows earlier ones, beginning in 1978. Since that time we have collected over 2,700 pieces of evidence from 26 nations attesting to the interruption of mail by the Soviet Union. Our last series of hearings that were held in Washington,

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Chicago, and New York a little over a year ago brought in testimony from a wide sector of concerned groups.

During these hearings it became clear that there was an interrelationship of the Soviet's mail interference and human rights, and we can only conclude that there was a calculated effort by the Soviet authorities to isolate some of their citizens from all outside communication. One witness compared their xenophobia to the Stalinist era when no one dared to communicate with anyone abroad for fear that they would be sentenced to a gulag as a foreign spy.

In fact, only last summer Dr. Zelechnok was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment for bad letters. The message to dissidents was obvious: any overseas correspondence is dangerous and mere letters are ground for prosecution.

At the conclusion of our earlier hearings, Congress overwhelmingly passed House Concurrent Resolution 294, legislation calling for a public expression of American disapproval of the Soviet Union's interruption of international mail. Specifically, the bill requested that Soviet violations be brought to the attention of the Congress of the Universal Postal Union [UPU] that met in Hamburg in July 1984 by our U.S. Postal Service delegation House Concurrent Resolution 294 suggested that the UPU should investigate those violations, consider possible sanctions against the Soviet Union and alert members of actions to encourage the Soviet Union to respect its treaty obligations as part of the UPU.

I had the honor of attending the UPU Congress to help present the assembly with the recommendations embodied in that legislation. And allow me to commend Mr. Duka, our U.S. Postal Service, and the State Department delegation in their efforts in the UPU's 1984 Hamburg Congress that helped to bring about the adoption at that congress of five significant and related resolutions in response to the Soviet mail interference. Those resolutions demonstrate the solidarity of a large group of member nations who oppose such flagrant abuse of our international postal service.

Since the Hamburg Congress, we have worked closely with the United States Postal Service to continue to press the issue of Soviet mail interference. The Postal Service has now completed and distributed a guide to mailing to the Soviet Union, an idea that developed from our last hearings. It should help avoid mailing problems due to some misunderstandings of the complicated regulations and the complex procedures imposed by the Soviet Union. We have some of those guides with us today for any of those of you who may be interested. I commend these efforts and Mr. Duka's cooperation with our committee in helping to bring that about.

It is extremely important for us to continue and to apply pressure on the Soviet authorities for their interference has not subsided. Indeed, just last summer the mail problems between the Sakharov family underscore the Soviet mail problem and their misuse of mail to hide and obscure facts from the outside world. Since Ms. Bonner's exile to Gorky in 1984, communication with her and Dr. Sakharov have been severely restricted. Recent letters published in the U.S. News & World Report only a few weeks ago document the fact that Dr. Sakharov has waged a series of hunger strikes since May 1984 to protest the Soviet Government's refusal to let his wife

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travel abroad for medical treatment. Something she has been able to do since that time, thank goodness.

Between May 1984 and September 1985 Dr. Sakharov spent 10 months in a hospital subjected to excruciating forced feeding, which induced heart attacks. These facts were carefully hidden by the Soviet's disinformation campaign. And today, hopefully, we will examine a key in these deceptive efforts—Ms. Bonner's 21st postcard in April 1985.

During the spring of 1985 conflicting reports were coming out of Gorky. On May 16, a handwritten note by Sakharov announcing his renewed hunger strike was reported by the Associated Press. Yet a few weeks later a friend received a telegram from Dr. Bonner indicating all was well. Then a postcard from Dr. Bonner was received by her family in the United States. At that time Dr. Sakharov had reportedly begun his strike. Her correspondence about the weather and holiday gifts contradicted these reports. Closer examination caused her family to suspect some tampering with the mail. Today, we will take a close look at that mail supposedly written April 21, the very day that Dr. Sakharov was hospitalized and forced feeding was initiated.

The implications are great. The Soviet's fed information abroad that hid the true facts. The fact that Dr. Sakharov was tortuously held with his nose clamped while broth was poured down into his mouth. During these hospitalizations, a total of three lasting an accumulated 10 months, Dr. Bonner had no news at all from her husband. The Soviet authorities are obviously attempting to fabricate reality, as they do in their history books, altering the facts to benefit their own viewpoints.

If communications between the Soviet Union and the outside world cannot be trusted, what evidence will families and friends have as to the safety and well-being of those behind the Iron Curtain. Ms. Bonner is here in the United States today because of Dr. Sakharov's personal diligence combined with outside pressure. The granting of her visa abroad and the release of other prisoners and dissidents like Anatoly Shcharansky demonstrate that the Soviet authorities are seeking a better image on human rights since the Geneva Summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and our President. These events may be the beginning of a thaw on human rights by the Soviets. Yet our hopes are tempered by the continued malfeasance for the less well-known individuals who still linger in Soviet prisons and still linger without the opportunity to emigrate. These and tens of thousands still wait for visas to emigrate. While there has been a slight increase in emigration this past year, the level of emigration is still markedly low.

Recent arrests of Hebrew teachers in Leningrad demonstrate no easing of the Soviet attack on religious groups. On January 8, 1986, Vladimir Lipschitz, a young activist from Leningrad, was arrested for allegedly circulating "information known to be false which defames the Soviet state and social system." Mr. Lipschitz did nothing more than write a few letters setting forth his own thoughts.

The Soviet Government has yet to prove that it has improved its policy on human rights. Although their recent actions have given us some cause for hope and has demonstrated a certain amount of good will, they are contradicted by Soviet officials' continued ef-

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forts to isolate those remaining in the Soviet Union and their denial of exit visas to the thousands who seek the opportunity to be reunited with their families or to go to countries of their own choice.

The mail service provides a delicate link between Soviet citizens and the outside world. However, it is also a key feature of Soviet efforts to detach its people from such outside contacts. Today's hearings, Mr. Chairman, will help us to more fully understand the extent and the mechanisms that the Soviets bring to bear to give the impression of good will while in fact acting in a contrary manner.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. Smith, did you have an opening statement you would like to make?

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Our first witness today is Dr. Sakharov's stepson, Mr. Alexey Semyonov.

Mr. Semyonov, would you please come to the table. Please proceed with your statement whenever you are ready. We welcome you here today.

STATEMENT OF ALEXEY SEMYONOV, STEPSON OF DR. ANDREI SAKHAROV

Mr. SEMYONOV. Thank you.

In the spring of 1985, the reports of my stepfather, Dr. Andrei Sakharov's new hunger strike had appeared in the Western press. On May 15, the Associated Press reported on a letter from Dr. Sakharov, received in Moscow, in which he says that he started a new hunger strike on April 16, that on April 21 he was taken to a hospital and force-fed. I have a Boston Globe article about that report of the Associated Press here.

Mr. GILMAN. Could you identify the date of that article?

Mr. SEMYONOV. This article is May 17; the report by the Associated Press, May 15.

Mr. GILMAN. Of 1980?

Mr. SEMYONOV. 1985.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

Mr. SEMYONOV. All of these reports have proved to be true but, at the time, two events made us question these reports. On May 24, our friend, Ms. Irene Kristi, came to the West. Ms. Kristi reported that she, and some other friends of the Sakharovs in Moscow, received messages from my parents—signed by my mother, Dr. Yelena Bonner. The messages were received in the form of phototelegrams, or faxes, a special service available in the Soviet Union, for transmitting handwritten messages. The messages indicated that everything was normal in Gorky.

The next day, May 25, we received a postcard from Gorky. The postcard is dated April 21 and says the Sakharovs had started spring cleaning their apartment. It is written by Yelena Bonner, but it also has Dr. Sakharov's signature. All of that we reported to the press the same day. Again, I have here an article which ap-

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peared in the Boston Sunday Globe, May 26, about us receiving the postcard, and that the postcard says that everything is normal.

Obviously, all of the above was in contradiction with the reports of a hunger strike. However, on May 26 we discovered that the postcard was written not April 21, but apparently April 1, or at least no later than April 3. We discovered that not only had the date been tampered with, but the words that could indicate the real date had also been changed.

Namely, what happened is this. My mother numbers the postcards. And the postcard No. 21 from the 21st of April apparently was out of sequence because the No. 22 was written on the 3d of April. Of course that was not enough to suggest that there was a forgery because she could have made a mistake there. But we compared the text of the two postcards carefully and we found out that there was a contradiction in the message itself. In the No. 21 postcard my mother says that she still doesn't know whether we received the presents that she sent to us for the birthday of my sister. In the No. 22 postcard, she says that she just received a postcard from my grandmother from which she learned that the presents have arrived. Thus the order of the numbers of the postcards are correct. The No. 21 is written before the No. 22. The No. 22, however, bears the date the 3d of April. Thus No. 21 which is dated the 21st of April should have been actually written before the 3d of April.

At that point we took the postcard to a graphoanalyst, Mr. Gersin, in Boston, and let him judge if there were any changes made on the postcard. His conclusions were that indeed there were changes. He concluded that No. 2—I have here the written report of Mr. Gersin made on May 27, 1985.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask that that report be made a part of the record.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The report of Mr. Gersin follows:]

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EXHIBIT
3/18/86
TO BENNARD

Associated Graphoanalysts

Charles Gersin, Director
Certified Master Graphoanalyst
Qualified Document Examiner

366 Blue Hill Avenue
Milton, Mass. 02186
(617) 696-8142

REPORT

Subject: Examination of Questioned Handwriting.

Date: May 27, 1985

Examiner: Charles Gersin

Attention: Alexey Semyonov, 54 Maplewood Ave, Newton Ctre, MA 02159.

To determine whether alterations were made in the handwriting on mailed post cards the following cards were submitted for examination and comparison:

Fourteen cards addressed to Mrs. Bonner, 54 Maplewood Ave, Newton Ctre, Mass. 02159, bearing the following dates: 2/1/85, 2/4/85, 2/6/85, 2/12/85, 2/13/85, 2/16/85, 2/20/85, 3/1/85, 3/13/85, 3/15/85, 3/18/85, 4/3/85, 4/17/85, and 4/21/85, which bears the questioned handwriting, were examined and compared under high-power magnification.

THE FINDINGS:

Cards #10, 18, 22, each has a dot placed after the number followed by a wide space before the date is handwritten.

Cards #11 and #26, each have no dots after the number but the characteristic wide space is left before the date is handwritten.

Card #21 does have the customary dot after the number but the characteristic wide space is filled with a #2 which is crowding the dot, and the #2 appears to have been added later without regard for the wide space that is habitually left by the writer on the other cards. This #2 seems to be out of place and out of character because its formation is slightly different from the usual pattern of the original writer.

On line 2 of card #21, on the far right side a letter "u" appears to be overwritten and changed to a letter "o".

On the third line from the bottom of card #21, right of center, a letter "w" with 2 sharp angles at the bottom and a sharp angle at the top appears to have been changed by overwriting the sharp angled top with a loop which changes the appearance of the "w" [illegible] meaning.

The final downstroke of this "w" appears to have been erased and leaving a mark to signify a dot.

Another erasure appears to have been made in the change on line 2 in the change of the letter "u" to a letter "o".

OPINION:

Based on these findings it is my professional opinion that the above changes were made by someone other than the original writer.

Charles Gersin
Associated Graphoanalysts

Charles Gersin

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Mr. SEMYONOV. In his opinion, the No. 2 was inserted. He concludes that based on the fact that my mother consistently puts a dot after the number of the postcard and after that always makes a space. There is even a reason for that; she doesn't see very well, so it is hard for her to put things very close on paper. However, you can see that dot clearly on the postcards No. 18 and No. 22. There is an empty space between the number and the date next to it. However, on the No. 21 postcard there is no such space. He concluded that the No. 2 was actually inserted in the empty space which is usually done by my mother.

He also notes that there were changes done to the words in the postcard itself. In one place the Russian word "prishyol", which means "has come," is changed to the Russian word "proshyol." It is a change of just one letter but it changes the meaning of the whole sentence. Instead of "April has come," the phrase became "April has gone"; thus indicating that actually the postcard was written in the beginning of the month but was changed to seem to be written at the end of the month.

The same thing at the end of the postcard. There was a change of the Russian word "tael," which is the present tense of "melting," to "tayel," which is a wrong grammatical form of the past tense of the same verb, changing the phrase from "the snow is melting" to "the snow has melted." Again because at the end of April supposedly the snow should have been gone in Gorky.

Thus, it was the conclusion, based on all of those findings by Mr. Gersin, that in his opinion the changes were made by someone other than the original writer. Together with the contradictions in the text, however, I am convinced that we have received a postcard which was obviously tampered with.

It was harder to prove that the messages received by friends in Moscow were also forged. Only when my mother had come to the West for medical treatment, in December 1985, we learned from her that she did not send these cables. It was hard, first of all, because some of the messages we have a copy of, but it is only a photocopy to begin with. By the means of the service itself, the phototelegram is a photocopy. Thus no graphoanalyst can actually make any conclusion based on that message, because one needs an original handwritten note in order to judge it.

However, when my mother came here she saw these messages, the copies of them, and she said that she never sent them. But actually some of them, parts of them she recognizes as different cables she had sent during the whole year, which apparently did not reach their addresses but were kept somewhere and then used in order to collage new messages to be sent in May.

Thus, in our opinion, there was in May 1985 a definite effort to use the international and internal Soviet postal communications to misrepresent the situation of my parents, Dr. Andrei Sakharov and Dr. Yelena Bonner. We were always aware of the possibility that Soviet authorities might use the family correspondence to mislead the world about the conditions and whereabouts of the Sakharovs. However, this was the first time we could prove a forgery.

I should mention that tampering with the Sakharov's mail is not the only problem we have experienced in communicating with them. Our letters to our parents often do not reach them. Many of

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their letters to us also disappear. Thus, for example, between April 17 and June 29 there were 28 postcards written by my mother which never reached us. We know that because my mother uses a special numbering system, as I said, for her postcards, and we know that the postcard of April 17 was No. 26 and then the next postcard we received was on June 29, postcard No. 58.

Mr. GILMAN. Is that for the year 1985?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Year 1985. Of course, there were just as many other gaps in the sequences. For example, this is you see here a photo of three postcards. In that sequence between 18 and 22 that were only postcards that reached us, No. 18, 21 and 22. The next one is 26. Four are missing. And then the next one after 26 was No. 55.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Semyonov, could you just mark that "Exhibit B."

And, Mr. Chairman, could we ask that that be made a part of the record?

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

Mr. GILMAN. Please mark the other one as "Exhibit A" that you referred to earlier.

Mr. SEMYONOV. The conclusion of the expert.

Mr. GILMAN. The other photograph of the reprint of the postcard that you have.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Oh, this one?

Mr. GILMAN. The postcard reprint. You had, I believe, another one that you referred to earlier.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes. No. 26 of 17 April, you mean?

Mr. GILMAN. Are those two sheets that are on the table both identical?

Mr. SEMYONOV. No.

Mr. GILMAN. All right. Would you mark one as "Exhibit A" and one as "Exhibit B." And I would like to ask that they be made a part of our record.

Mr. SEMYONOV. OK.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Exhibits A and B follow:]

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N18. 15 января 85.

N21 21 января.

N22. 3 апреля 85.

N26 17 апр 85. I

Сегодня почу

Леон отвечал

EXHIBIT A
3/19/86

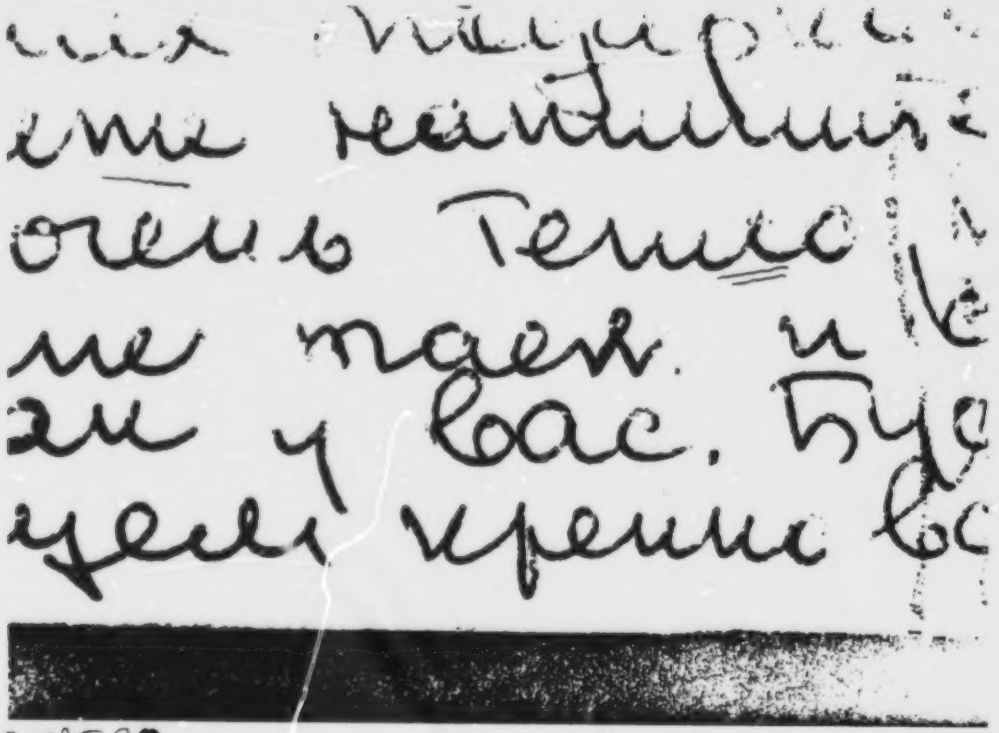

EXHIBIT B 3/19/86

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Mr. SEMYONOV. So we know that a lot of our mail is disappearing. We ask the Congress to do whatever it can to assure the Soviet compliance with the Postal Convention.

Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Semyonov.

While in the Soviet Union, has Dr. Bonner received mail other than postcards from abroad?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes, that is correct. She was sometimes receiving, for example, scientific articles. Reprints of scientific articles sent to him by her colleagues in the West. However, again many of those are disappearing.

I should also point out that the mail sent to my stepfather, with return receipt requested service, which is supposed to be signed by the addressee, often the people who send such mail receive back the notice where it was accepted by someone in the post office without the actual signature of either my stepfather or my mother. So even though we get back the notice with the article was delivered, it is not the notice that the article was delivered to whom it was intended for; and the people who send these articles never really know whether my stepfather received it or not.

Mr. YATRON. Can Dr. Bonner correspond internally with friends and colleagues in Moscow?

Mr. SEMYONOV. There are, again, problems with that. For periods of time, such as 1985, there were no communications between her and the friends in Moscow. For example in the summer of 1985. Before there were instances when cables sent by her or to her were altered. For example, a friend of ours, Mr. Shikhanovich, in 1983 had decided to only use this fax service because a couple of cables of his during 1983 were altered. The message in those cables was altered. I have here a copy of a note made by my stepfather in his diary about Yuri—that's Mr. Shikhanovich—sent the cable as a photocable, as he was always doing after some of his cables were altered.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like that to be marked as "Exhibit C" and be made a part of our record.

And if you would be kind enough to mark that.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

[Exhibit C follows:]

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№21 21 апреля. Здравствуйте, дети
дорогие, маленькие. Вот и прошла
неделя! Мы сегодня делаем гра-
диционную уборку в народной кар-
тинке и удивляемся повседневным
красотам. В кухне - там действует
весна, это несмотря на все и
всеми мысли быт берет свое
и не всегда быт непритязан,
особенно когда он как у нас
главное проявление жизни.
Читаю я какую-то книгу
- все Зы камера журналов и
интересные и все время кто
войну в тональности которая
мне не всегда понятна, но явно
что притягательна. Ко в Нью-Йорке
две прибывших к нашим Бокасарев
и какой-то Сэлинджер - Имитатор
Кафки я поняла из письма Фрей-
- в письме интеллигентный но
обстрадалась, хотя это трудно
дать почувствовать. Мы получи-
ли вашу телеграмму а вот по-
лучили ли вы две посылки день
рождественских подарков не знаем
когда получите напишите. У нас
хотя и не очень тепло но лучи
текут и все тает и капает све-
тит. И как у вас. Будьте здоро-
вы все. Целуем крепко всех Ваши

EXHIBIT C
3/18/86

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№22. 3 апреля 95. Родные мои. По-вчера получили открытку от мамы, где сказано, что подарки ко дню рождения самеными 3-ми Вы получили. Я очень рада, что они дошли и дали довольно быстро. Лен живет тихо и как-то незаметно. Сейчас уже второй день (а вчера еще два вечера) смотрим 4-х серийный детектив по Гр. Грину "Самбурский экспресс" - это был один из первых моих детективов и я наверное многое позабыла или сценаристы многое переделали, но я смотрю совсем как нечто незнакомое - смотреть интересно-фильм ветерский. Сегодня сделали большую работу - убрали балкон и перемыли окна под увеличь во всех комнатах, но опять что-бы то не было еще! очень рано да мало через месяц, м.б. через 3 недели - не раньше. В саду снег почти стаял, где-то и солнечные, то посеруже ветрено, но воздух пахнет весной и мечту от нее уже никуда не деться. Это очень хорошо, когда в природе за зимой всегда ждешь весну, а приходит весна. Будьте все здоровы. Маленьким не спешу. Целую Вас. Целую. Мама

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№26 17 апр 85. Мои дорогие родные! Сегодня получили две телеграммы Ваши открытки от 19/III и 22/III. Из всех Ваших вопросов - уже получили ответы на наши телеграммы Ваши и наши. Мама я очень жду тебя и хочу чтобы и ты и Дети переслали думаешь что еще тебе нам будет трудней чем еще что-либо в этом роде. Я только боюсь что кто будет Сашин Мать или Катя (не говорю о тех кто себя уже считают взрослыми да и есть головой - только не для нас с тобой) тем будет видеть только нас то лишь тебя попытается сделать пустой. Для примера, что Мама умерла и была в 5 лет узнали из Твоей открытки. Ну, я Таня и Алена будь в глубине души не представляют что будут делать свои там далеко от тебя. И от этого все нервности нервность - а их не надо. Ты просила наше "фабро" на твой приезд - я не только его дало, но и очень жду тебя в конце лета - (в начале сентября. А сейчас Вам всем тебе надо успокоиться и спокойно прочить три месяца. Ну знаешь что Таня 250 едет на праздники только не очень пошили какой. Да это и неважно - праздник конечно - без них скучно. Вот на сегодня чувствую себя хорошо, сегодня сделаю не смотря на праздник (чем одним отличается) быть в мило-ремонтом "прихожую" с напряжением - здоровье. Целуем Вас. Будьте здоровы. Целуем Мама

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Mr. YATRON. Do the Sakharovs have access to a telephone in Gorky, Mr. Semyonov?

Mr. SEMYONOV. No. He is not allowed to make phone calls. Indeed he was told at the beginning of exile that that was part of his arrangement. A part of a routine which he was to obey. In the beginning of his exile, a couple of times he tried to enter a phone booth on the street and tried to make a phone call. Every time the plainclothes men, agents who are always following him, would get into the booth with him, put the receiver down, and just force him out of the booth.

It is unclear who established—by whose authority he is denied the right to make phone calls. Because, as you know, he was never tried nor convicted in the Soviet Union, and his being in exile is an unclear thing in the Soviet Union, where exile is a legal punishment which supposedly can be imposed only by court. And even then, the right of an exilee to correspond with anyone, by mail, by telephone, by cables, is not restricted in any way.

Mr. YATRON. Can you tell us how frequently Dr. Bonner has communicated with her husband since she has been abroad receiving medical treatment?

Mr. SEMYONOV. She has made four phone calls, so far, to my stepfather. All of those have went through, but each one of them has been interfered with. There was certain jamming on the line every time my mother tried to bring up certain subjects such as, for example, mentioning the fact that my stepfather is being secretly videotaped every time he goes to a doctor or a dentist. Even after these four conversations during which in every conversation she tried to bring up that topic, he still doesn't know that because the jamming would start immediately as soon as she mentioned something close to it.

The last conversation was actually interrupted 15 minutes into the conversation with a terrible noise and was not reconnected because my mother mentioned a meeting with a scientist of Stanford University in California, and apparently that subject was out of bounds.

Mr. YATRON. So you feel that all of them have been obstructed in one way or another?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes. We believe that we are being constantly monitored very closely and being selectively jammed or interrupted at the time when whoever monitors them feels that it is called for.

Mr. YATRON. What is the latest report on Dr. Sakharov's health? Are the rumors concerning his having a Parkinson-like condition as a result of the forced feedings true?

Mr. SEMYONOV. No. I don't believe he has Parkinson's disease. Indeed, the Soviets themselves who made that statement to begin with, in June 1985, have made an opposite statement in November. That he is practically healthy, something like that, which is very strange. For anyone who knows that Parkinson's disease is a disease which cannot be healed, so, if they found that he had Parkinson's disease in June, they could never have said that he does not have it in November.

But it is our opinion, based on what we know from my mother and from her observations of my stepfather--she is a doctor, as you know, a physician—that as a result of his being force-fed in 1984,

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he had a minor stroke or a spasm of the vessels of the brain which initially caused such consequences as difficulty in writing and trembling of the hands, and so on. It was used by the physicians who were surrounding my stepfather—at the time he was on a hunger strike—to threaten him; that he had beginnings of Parkinson's disease and that he was going to be a complete invalid. It was used as a psychological pressure on him to force him to stop the hunger strike.

However, he recovered from that spasm and right now actually does not have any symptoms any longer.

Mr. YATRON. One final question. Gorbachev recently said that Sakharov knows military secrets and would not be permitted to leave the Soviet Union. Since Dr. Sakharov abandoned nuclear technology research in the mid-1960's, in your estimation is Sakharov's scientific knowledge any real threat to Soviet security, or is this just an excuse?

Mr. SEMYONOV. I am really not qualified to judge it, especially since my stepfather never discussed with me or with anyone else his secret work. I believe there is no reason to suppose that he would ever do so. In my own layman's opinion, that was so long ago that it shouldn't present much of a problem but, again, I do not really know.

However, certainly this excuse can never justify holding my stepfather in exile. He was in Moscow before he was exiled and he never divulged any secrets. He should be allowed to enjoy the same freedoms as any other Soviet citizen at least; that is, be back in Moscow where he lived before the exile or, if he committed any crimes, if he by any chance divulged any secrets, then he should be tried. For Mr. Gorbachev to say that my father committed criminal acts is actually in itself a criminal act. Because Mr. Gorbachev is not a court, and by Soviet Constitution only the court can decide whether someone has committed a criminal act or has not. My father never was charged and never was tried and never was convicted, so legally he should enjoy every right of a Soviet citizen as just any other Soviet citizen does supposedly.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Semyonov.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Chairman Sikorski.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Semyonov, your relentless fight and determination these past months has opened the eyes and the ears of leaders and people around the world to the plight of your stepfather, your mother, and many other Soviet citizens. We thank you for your courage, your advocacy, and your appearance here today.

By way of background, you explained to us how you were able to catch and prove that there was tampering with mail from your mother. As I understand it, Dr. Bonner sent a series of postcards to her family—her mother and others—in the United States during 1985. She numbered them to let you know if cards didn't arrive. One card supposedly dated April 21 was really sent on April 1. The digit 2 was inserted apparently by the KGB to change 1 to 21. This alteration was exposed by the numbering system, and further, an expert pointed out that there was alteration.

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Mr. SEMYONOV. Right. And also by the textual comparisons of two postcards. The messages in the postcards 21 and 22 establish clearly that the No. 21 was written before No. 22.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Right. Card 21 was obviously sent before card 22, yet it carried a later date.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Right.

Mr. SIKORSKI. The later date made it appear that Dr. Sakharov was still at home, when in fact he had been returned to the hospital.

Mr. SEMYONOV. That is correct.

Mr. SIKORSKI. And further, as you mentioned, the tenses were confused. The postcard read, in part, so now April is past, the snow has melted, and the sun is shining. Analysis of the handwriting reveals that the card had been tampered with, the verb tenses besides the numbers had been tampered with.

Mr. SEMYONOV. That is correct.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Now a polite word for the practice is "disinformation." A blunter word is "lying." In Dr. Sakharov's case the Kremlin has tried to convince the world that despite reports that this dissident was on a hunger strike he was actually in robust health and quite happy. The main target of this disinformation is the Western media. Is that correct?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes; that is correct. And they should point out that actually, at least partially the Soviet Union has—that whoever made these alterations achieved the purpose. Because although we have proved that the postcard was forged, we could not present any proof at the time that the messages received by friends in Moscow were forged, and altogether the presence of the reports of a hunger strike, the postcards which were forged and contradictions to these reports created such a confusing situation that it was hard to believe anything. So everything—by making that forgery, whoever did it, kind of put a question mark on everything. As a result, we did not know for sure what was happening to my stepfather, my parents, until the first phone conversation after my mother was given the permission to go to the West. That is the first time we learned for sure that indeed he started a hunger strike on April 16 and except for an interruption for 2 weeks in July, waiting for a reply from Mr. Gorbachev, he continued his hunger strike for more than 6 months.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Just so we have it straight, Dr. Sakharov is your stepfather?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Right.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Dr. Bonner is your mother?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Is my mother, that is correct.

Mr. SIKORSKI. When she writes the postcards they are to her mother; to her daughter-in-law; to her son, you; and to your children, her grandchildren?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Right. That is correct.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Since Dr. Bonner has come to the West, has your mother been able to point out any other alterations made to her correspondence?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes. For example, again about the messages which were received by friends in Moscow. She saw the copies of those and she says that clearly she did not send them, but she rec-

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ognizes parts of those messages as different cables sent during the year 1984 and 1985 to Moscow. Apparently these messages, or some of the messages which were sent before did not reach the people whom they were intended for but kept in store and then used to compile them together in whatever message there was a need for.

Mr. SIKORSKI. And besides the actual tampering there was just lack of delivery?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Right. They kept some of the cables, some of the handwriting—you know, in the Soviet Union to send a cable what you do if you don't have a phone, as my parents don't, they go to the post office and fill out a blank, handwritten blank, with the text of the cable. Then you give it to the postal worker, supposedly to send out on a telegraph machine.

What happened was that some of those blanks on which you write the message for the cable were kept. They were never really transmitted and delivered, but were kept in store. And then half a year later, a year later parts of it would be compiled together to make another message and sent at a time, say like May 1985, when there were reports of my stepfather's hunger strike and there was a need to prove that actually everything was normal in Gorky.

Mr. SIKORSKI. At minimum, there is confusion as to what the real state of affairs is with your parents' life.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Right.

Mr. SIKORSKI. You testified about 56 postcards. How many did you receive?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Well, we didn't count all of them. We know the largest gap was in between No. 26 and No. 55.

Mr. SIKORSKI. And you received none?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes. We received No. 26 and we received No. 55, but none in between. That is the largest gap. But there were always gaps. We almost never received consecutive postcards.

Mr. GILMAN. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. SIKORSKI. Certainly.

Mr. GILMAN. What was that period of time, Mr. Semyonov?

Mr. SEMYONOV. It was in between April 17 and June 29.

Mr. GILMAN. Of 1985?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Right.

Mr. GILMAN. And at that time Dr. Sakharov was on a hunger strike?

Mr. SEMYONOV. That is correct.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you.

Is your mother only allowed to write postcards?

Mr. SEMYONOV. She was never really told whether she is forbidden to write. Because she, differently from my stepfather, she is officially exiled. Thus the official regime of an exilee applies to her, and that means that there are no restrictions in correspondence. You can mail whatever you want. You can phone whoever you want. Legally, at least supposedly.

But in reality, we never received any letters from her. As far as we know, even before her exile, if she tried to write letters they would disappear. Postcards—some of the postcards would get through. I do not really know the reason for that. But if you want me to speculate, I would think that the censor or whoever reads

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the mail thinks that in the long letter it is much easier to hide something in the textual message which would be unnoticeable to the censor but would be understood by us; whereas, in the postcard it is harder to do. So some of the postcards we receive.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Can we do more to stop the Soviet interference with the mails? What can we do?

Mr. SEMYONOV. That is really not a question for me. That is for the Congress to decide, but the Soviets are a party to an international agreement so there must be ways of enforcing that agreement, reinforcing it, or putting pressure on the Soviets to comply with their obligations under the Postal Convention. In what form this pressure can be applied, it is really for the Congress and for the administration to decide; I do not know.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Chairman Sikorski.

Mr. Solomon.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Chairman, I apologize for missing the testimony of Mr. Semyonov, and I won't take up the committee's time. I will come back later.

But I would just like to thank you, Mr. Semyonov, for your help in really dramatizing the true behavior of the Soviet Union on human rights. You know, there is never any excuse for any government to abuse human life or human rights; and it is bad enough when small, inconsequential, countries that may or may not know any better participate in such behavior; but it is absolutely inexcusable when a country that proposes to be a world leader and has a history like that of the Russian people allows this to go on, it is totally inexcusable. We thank you for your efforts in letting the world know just what is happening there.

Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Solomon.

Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Semyonov, how long has it been since Dr. Sakharov has had this problem communicating with his family? How long a period of time? Can you tell us when this all started?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Well, you can say that in some form there were problems from the very beginning, from the time that we, that is, my sister first and later I, had left the Soviet Union and came to the United States.

Mr. GILMAN. What date was this?

Mr. SEMYONOV. I came to the United States in May 1978. My sister came half a year earlier, in December 1977.

At first the problems were not very severe. We were able to write. We were able to call. But our phone calls were monitored very closely and often disconnected if we tried to say something which seemed to be offensive to whoever listened to the conversation, or if we tried to discuss matters which for some reason were judged out of bounds. Later, the interference became more severe, with the time passing. The letters from me, my sister, my brother-in-law, and my wife had stopped coming through altogether. The only letters which sometimes were continuing to get through were from my grandmother addressed to my mother. I do not, again,

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know the reason for that. Maybe it is just the fact that my grandmother is still a citizen of the Soviet Union.

Mr. GILMAN. How did you know whether your mail was getting through or not getting through?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Because before my mother's exile we were still able to receive some postcards from her on a somewhat regular basis. We were also able to receive correspondence not through the postal channels. She was still in Moscow part of the time. There were people there, friends and Western acquaintances, who would be able to take a note or a letter from her to us, just deliver it directly without the postal communication in between. And also up to 1984, the spring of 1984, at the time when my mother was in Moscow we were still able to arrange for a phone call to the apartment of friends of ours in Moscow where she would come and we would be able to talk to her. So we would know whether she received some letters or not. Again, those phone conversations were controlled but there was at least a discussion of the family affairs allowed during these conversations.

Then after my mother's exile to Gorky; that is, when she was detained in Gorky in May 1984, that is where the problem—the mail deteriorated very fast. After detention in Gorky in May 1984, until October of the same year—half a year—we were not receiving anything from either her or my stepfather. Then the postcards started to come, numbered postcards. The first one was not marked No. 1. And they continued to come trickling in—No. 7, then No. 10, then No. 15, and so on—for half a year until April 1985 when, as you know, there was again a big interruption until June 29 when one postcard arrived on June 29 and another dated July 2. And after that again nothing until my mother was already given the permission to leave the Soviet Union.

Mr. GILMAN. Was Dr. Sakharov or Dr. Bonner permitted to make any telephone calls from Gorky?

Mr. SEMYONOV. No.

Mr. GILMAN. Were you able to get any calls through to them in Gorky?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Until this last year when my mother was permitted to go to the West, my parents were not able to call anyone from Gorky independently, whether the call would be from the West or to the West or was an internal call.

Mr. GILMAN. And were you able to call them?

Mr. SEMYONOV. No. We tried many times to call Gorky and it was all unsuccessful until, as I said, November 1985.

Mr. GILMAN. Were there any cables that were able to go out or to come into Gorky?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes. Both internal cables and the cables from us and to us some of them would get through. As it turned out, some of them were altered. That is the reason why some friends of ours like Mr. Shikhanovich, whom I mentioned before, have stopped sending normal cables to Gorky but only use the fax cables. But then, as we know, even the fax cables do not assure their authenticity because that is what was used to send the falsified messages from Gorky to Moscow in May 1985.

Mr. GILMAN. Fax is an independent carrier?

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Mr. SEMYONOV. No, it is the same carrier. It is the post of the Soviet Union, which just has different kinds of services. You can send a normal cable or you can call a photocable, which is really the fax service.

Mr. GILMAN. So it is a Soviet service that you are referring to?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes.

Mr. GILMAN. Essentially, then, during the period of time that Dr. Sakharov has been exiled to Gorky and Dr. Bonner's exile to Gorky, there has been very limited postal communication and sometimes no postal communication, no telephone communication, and just a few cables, is that——

Mr. SEMYONOV. That is correct. That is right.

Mr. GILMAN. What was the total period of time? From what period were they exiled?

Mr. SEMYONOV. He was exiled on January 22, 1980, and he is still there, so it is more than 6 years. I should point out, by the way, that the legal limit of an exile in the Soviet Union is 5 years.

Mr. GILMAN. So he is already over that——

Mr. SEMYONOV. If he were tried in 1980, convicted and sentenced, his legal sentence could not have been more than for 5 years of exile. But because he was never tried and never convicted, and because he remains in Gorky under an unclear authority, just actually being kept there by force, his term seems to be indefinite.

Mr. GILMAN. How old is Dr. Sakharov at the present time?

Mr. SEMYONOV. He is 64, going to be 65 this coming May.

Mr. GILMAN. Do you know what his state of health is at the present time?

Mr. SEMYONOV. He seems to have recovered from his hunger strike, and according to the phone conversation we had just 2 weeks ago, he feels all right. But although I cannot, of course, prove anything in this direction, it is my personal opinion that in his age and with his previous health problems, the thing like a 6-month hunger strike would not have been ended without lasting affect on his health. So I personally believe that there is such effect, even if it is not noticeable right now.

Mr. GILMAN. What was the last communication you received from Dr. Sakharov?

Mr. SEMYONOV. A written communication?

Mr. GILMAN. Yes.

Mr. SEMYONOV. That was his letter of January, I cannot remember the date right now, but it is——

Mr. GILMAN. 1986?

Mr. SEMYONOV. 1986. I should point out that the letters from him started to come through after my mother's permission to go to the West. Before that, on these postcards that we received from time to time, they were always written by my mother, and sometimes there would be his signature, but not more than that. If he wrote anything more than that before 1984, when we could learn about whether he wrote something or not, we would not receive it.

Mr. GILMAN. What was the last date that Dr. Sakharov was employed by the Soviet Union?

Mr. SEMYONOV. He officially remains employed by the Physical Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow.

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Mr. GILMAN. When was the last that he worked for the Academy?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Physically being present in the institute, of course that was—he was taken to exile while on his way to the institute, so January 22 you can say was his last working day physically in the institute. But in exile he continued to work himself. He continued to publish scientific articles. Of course, that was, you know, just his own theoretical work.

Mr. GILMAN. Is he allowed to receive any international articles, magazines, or scientific works from the outside world?

Mr. SEMYONOV. We know of a lot of his colleagues in the West who send such scientific articles. Some of them get through. Very little compared to the number of what is being sent, but some of them to do get through. He also subscribes to scientific Western journals through the Academy of Sciences and before 1984, which is before my mother was exiled to Gorky, she would pick up his mail while in Moscow by going to the Academy of Sciences and then would bring it to him. Right now, when she is not able to go to Moscow, he no longer receives any journals.

Mr. GILMAN. Does any of the mail that was addressed to Dr. Sakharov or to Ms. Bonner get returned to the United States so that you may be aware of a mark or stamp by the Soviet Union that they were unable to deliver for some reason or other?

Mr. SEMYONOV. As far as I know, no. I may be wrong because there are a lot of people who write to my parents, actually even at our own advice, and many of those people send it with return receipt requested. So maybe some of these people had such experience but I do not know of it.

Mr. GILMAN. Do you know if either your mother or Dr. Sakharov received any mail from strangers in this country who are writing in support of him?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes. Not recently, but in 1981, he received—well, we know that there were thousands of postcards because of his 60th birthday. There were actually postcards printed by many organizations in Western Europe and the United States and in Japan with the text of a happy birthday message and the address, and we know that lots of those postcards were sent. He received a couple. I cannot say exactly how many, but a few he did.

Mr. GILMAN. Just a very few in number?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes.

Mr. GILMAN. Do you know what percentage of the mail that you sent to Dr. Sakharov got through?

Mr. SEMYONOV. It is hard to judge in terms of percentage. I know that after a couple of years in the beginning of the 1980's, it became clear to us that the letters from us were not delivered, except for some letters from my grandmother. So we actually stopped writing letters; that is, I, myself, my sister, my brother-in-law, my wife—stopped writing letters in the beginning of the eighties. My grandmother continued to write some postcards, and sometimes one of us would insert a sentence or a couple of words into her postcard. A couple of times this postcard with insertion of the text from us into my grandmother's text have been delivered.

Mr. GILMAN. Do you know what percentage of the mail from both your father and mother got through to you?

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Mr. SEMYONOV. I didn't count exactly, but that is easier to do because of various numbers on my mother's postcards. I would judge that it certainly was less than half of it that was delivered. I would guess about one-fourth.

Mr. GILMAN. Actually got through to you.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Actually got through to us.

Mr. GILMAN. Is there any mail that came through that had been censored or portions of it deleted?

Mr. SEMYONOV. As far as we know, there was only this one postcard which was altered. There were, of course, corrections on some other ones but we could not show that they were not made by my mother; and after showing it to her, she couldn't remember either. So we do not know.

Mr. GILMAN. Well, I want to join with my colleagues in commending you for your courage and your continued diligence in raising this issue not only here in our own Nation, but before the world of nations. We hope that eventually we will see the freedom of Dr. Sakharov, and see the improvement in the mail communication between our Nation and the Soviet Union.

Thank you, Mr. Semyonov.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Semyonov, I have a few questions, but first of all I want to join my colleagues in congratulating you on your persistence. Certainly has to be frustrating at times. Hopefully we can take advantage of the international covenants, including the Helsinki accords, and the international postal covenants, to continue the pressure on world opinion on behalf of the Sakharovs, so that there will be a happy conclusion to this difficult ordeal.

I have a number of questions. The first, with regards to postal tampering, do you think it is more harassment, or a planned strategy based on disinformation, in an attempt to mislead the world as to what is occurring week by week?

Mr. SEMYONOV. I am just going to give you my opinion, I cannot be sure. But at that instance, the story of this postcard, about which we are sure has been altered, I think it was a deliberate attempt to mislead the world, to spread disinformation. It is coupled with a whole complaint of isolating my parents where isolation after the beginning of my stepfather's hunger strike was the most complete you can imagine. They were separated from each other and not allowed to see one another.

My mother, remaining supposedly free in Gorky, was followed everywhere by a whole group of agents who would not allow her even to touch another person in the line in the shop. If she drove somewhere, there would be a police car in front of her and behind her. If she came to a garden, they would actually clear the place around her so that no one could come within any near distance of her.

And my father, at the same time, remained in the hospital completely isolated, just closed in. It was only a named hospital, but actually what they did was put him into a special part of the hospi-

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tal which was closed to anyone else and was converted, for all purposes was converted, to a jail.

At the same time there were movies, videotapes, released to the West by the Soviets in which they claimed that my stepfather was not on a hunger strike, that he was fine. They were showing him eating at the doctor's office, and so on. All of these tapes turned out to be pieces of old footage they were filming with the hidden camera all the time pieced together to present the kind of proof that he is not on hunger strike.

And obviously being engaged in such an active campaign of preventing the news of his hunger strike from leaking out and already being engaged in other means of disinforming the world, they were also eager to use the family correspondence as well for the same purpose; and that is when the postcard was tampered with.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. How well, in your opinion, do the Western journalists in the Soviet Union deal with the issue, particularly since there is a high possibility and potential for disinformation being given to them?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Well, everybody, more or less, is aware of the possibility of such facts, so I would say the press handled it well. But nevertheless, everybody, even just we ourselves, the members of the family, were confused and were not actually sure what was happening during these months. There were so many contradicting things, some of them obviously planted by the KGB, some of them not so obviously planted by the KGB, and some of them true; and it was very hard to sort them all out. We didn't really understand the picture completely until my mother came to the West.

Mr. SMITH. You indicated a few moments ago that when Dr. Sakharov sought to contact some people in Moscow or elsewhere, or perhaps even your mother, he went to a phone booth and was quickly ushered out of that phone booth. Was physical abuse or other kinds of verbal abuse utilized, as far as you know? How rough do they get?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Well, I wasn't there, it is hard to say. But he was pushed I know that. Because that was just a couple of times in the very beginning of his exile, more or less. He does not seek physical confrontation with this jailers, and it was no use to continue that kind of attempt. So that happened only in 1980 in the very beginning of the exile.

Also, but physical abuse was obviously present in some other instances, too, not only in that pushing him out of a phone booth. Once in 1982, also, a friend of ours tried to go to Gorky and into their apartment and was being very roughly taken by the KGB agents and pushed out. My mother and my stepfather tried to hold onto him, so they were separated with very much force. Actually my mother was pushed on to the floor and hit a couple of times. That was in 1980.

Then, also after that in 1984 and 1985 when my stepfather started his hunger strike—in 1984 first and then in 1985 another one—every time he was hospitalized and afterwards forcefed, and the hospitalization itself was done by force, especially so in 1985, the last one, when—the way my mother describes the scene it really was painful to hear. A large group of agents forced open the door of their apartment, took my mother by force into one of the rooms

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and kept her there by force, sitting on her. At the same time, another group took my stepfather, gave him some kind of an injection—my mother heard him yelling that they are making an injection—and then hauled him out of the apartment and took him to the hospital, as we know now. But, at the time, my mother didn't even know that. That was the last she saw of him until 3 months later he stopped the hunger strike for 2 weeks and was allowed to return home. So, for 3 months she didn't know what happened afterward and was able to think that maybe he was killed right then. It was very physical, as she describes it, and, obviously, very painful for both of them.

Then the force-feeding itself, those used on him, both his 1984 hunger strike and 1985, and every time the physicians who were treating him, if you can call them physicians, were choosing the most painful way of force-feeding; through the nose, for example, or, later, forcing open his mouth and hauling it open while they throw in some liquid, and so on. It was very painful. And as a result of the force-feeding and the pain he was suffering, in 1984 he had this stroke or vessel spasm. It happened right during the force-feeding in May 1984.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. One final question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Semyonov, when we view from afar someone like Dr. Sakharov or Dr. Bonner, we are always amazed at their courage and their ability to sustain incredible pressure, physical abuse, psychological abuse, and the like. We know that when Solzhenitsyn came out, he revealed that it was his faith that had enabled him to survive the ordeal. Recently Shcharansky indicated that one of the Psalms gave him particular solace during his ordeal.

Can you give us any insights as to what makes up Dr. Sakharov's indomitable will and spirit, and his moral courage? Please give us an insight into the man, if you will?

Mr. SEMYONOV. I doubt if I have the power to do so. He is just a very, well, one can say moral man. He knows what he feels is right and what he feels is not, and he cannot act in any other way than the way he feels is the right one. And that is about it.

Mr. SMITH. OK. Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Smith. Thank you very much, Mr. Semyonov, for being here today and giving us the benefit of your views. Your contribution today will be very helpful to the two subcommittees as we continue our work.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much. I wish you the very best.

Our three governmental witnesses will be testifying as a panel. We are pleased to welcome Mr. Mark Palmer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs; Mr. Walter E. Duka, Assistant Postmaster General, U.S. Postal Service; and Mr. Steve Grantham, a document examiner with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

We welcome you gentlemen here today. We would like to suggest that if you can summarize your statements, the entire text of your statements will be included in the record. So if it would be possible, we would be very grateful. We are running a little late, which is no fault of yours.

Mr. Palmer, will you please begin, sir?

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STATEMENT OF MARK PALMER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. PALMER. I have, Mr. Chairman, prepared testimony and I will submit it for the record. Let me just say, and this is not in my testimony, that it is clear to the President and to Secretary Shultz and to all of us that Dr. Sakharov is one of the most remarkable men alive today. It is his remarkable qualities that led this administration to make human rights the highest priority in our relations with the Soviet Union. In each of the meetings that Secretary Shultz has had with Foreign Minister Gromyko and now with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and in the President's meeting in Geneva, human rights was at the head of the agenda, and it will continue to be there. I have just come back with Secretary Shultz from meeting with Mr. Ryzhkov, who is the Soviet Prime Minister and the head of the Soviet economy, a full member of the Politburo, and during that brief meeting we again stressed the importance of this to the Congress, to the American people, and to the administration.

It is my impression, and I would share with Congressman Gilman the sense that they now understand this, that the progress we have indeed seen in recent months is a reflection of this understanding. We all rejoiced when Dr. Bonner was allowed to come out, and it is a great pleasure for all of us to have her with us today. We also rejoiced very much when Anatoly Shcharansky got out. I happened to be in Germany during that, and it was for me a great satisfaction.

There have been some other modest steps, but it is clear from what we have heard today that the situation for Dr. Sakharov remains deeply deplorable and that we must all continue very much our efforts to bring to world attention and, most importantly, to the leadership of the Soviet Union's attention, that a broad improvement in our relations is not possible without improvement in this dimension as well. The President and we are engaged very much in preparations for the second summit. This is going to be a key element as we move ahead.

I will not, Mr. Chairman, get into the question of mail. That is in my testimony and you have two other very good witnesses on that. Let me just say that we share their views in advance.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Palmer.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Palmer follows:]

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARK PALMER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS

I am pleased to have the opportunity to testify today about Dr. Andrei Sakharov. The Administration shares your deep concern about Soviet treatment of one of its most distinguished citizens. When President Reagan signed the proclamation designating May 21 as a day to honor Dr. Sakharov he recalled Dr. Sakharov's Nobel Peace Prize citation as the "spokesman for the conscience of mankind" and described him as a man of "uncommon courage and decency." However, although he is honored throughout the world as a scientist, humanitarian, and peacemaker, Dr. Sakharov continues to be treated like a criminal in his own country.

SOVIET TREATMENT OF DR. SAKHAROV

Following his publication of "Thoughts on Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom" in 1968, Dr. Sakharov was discharged from the Soviet nuclear weapons program, his security clearance withdrawn and he was given a position as a senior researcher, the lowest position a member of the Academy of Science is allowed to hold. His criticism of Soviet human rights policies, including his call for an investigation of mental hospitals run by the Ministry of

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Internal Affairs, elicited strong attacks in the Soviet media during the 1970's. In 1975 he was denied permission to go to Stockholm to accept the Nobel Peace Prize because of his knowledge of "state secrets." Following his criticism of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in January 1980, Dr. Sakharov was stripped of his state honors and, without benefit of trial, banished to internal exile in the city of Gor'kiy. His family has also been the target of harassment; his daughter-in-law was allowed to emigrate only after the Sakharovs embarked on a hunger strike in 1981.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Harassment of Dr. Sakharov and his courageous wife, Mrs. Yelena Bonner, escalated in May 1984 when Soviet authorities again intervened to end a hunger strike Dr. Sakharov began to protest Soviet refusal to permit Mrs. Bonner to go abroad for urgently needed medical treatment. He was allowed to rejoin his wife at their apartment in Gor'kiy only after he threatened to resume his hunger strike. Letters written by Dr. Sakharov which only recently reached the West provide details of Sakharov's mistreatment during that period and the force-feeding methods which were used to break his hunger strikes.

In August 1984 Mrs. Bonner herself was tried and convicted on trumped up charges of "anti-Soviet slander" and sentenced to five years internal exile in Gor'kiy. This sentence, which

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terminated her access to Westerners and to medical care in Moscow, was confirmed on appeal. For more than a year the Sakharovs were cut off from any direct contact with friends or family in Gor'kiy. The Soviet response to international pressure on their behalf during this period was to keep them isolated and to release only self-serving propaganda films and photos designed to depict them as leading normal productive lives.

Last December Soviet authorities finally did permit Mrs. Bonner to travel to the West and to the United States for medical treatment as had been promised prior to Geneva. However, to ensure she can return to Dr. Sakharov, Mrs. Bonner had to pledge to avoid the press while in the West. On the basis of papers recently published, it appears that in order to obtain agreement for Mrs. Bonner to go abroad, Dr. Sakharov signed a statement last fall accepting the Soviet right to refuse him permission to travel abroad because he has had access to secret military material, some of which might still be significant. Last month the Soviet General Secretary publicly stated that Sakharov would never be allowed to leave the Soviet Union because he knows strategic secrets.

Dr. Sakharov today remains in frail health, isolated in Gor'kiy. We continue to urge Soviet authorities to end his exile in Gor'kiy and permit him to return to Moscow where he have contact with family and friends and resume some research.

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SOVIET MAIL INTERFERENCE: ALTERATION OF POST CARD

Direct telephone contact with the Sakharovs in Gor'kiy was cut off in 1984 but Mrs. Bonner was allowed to send postcards to family and friends in Moscow and the United States; although obviously censored and devoid of much information about their situation, these messages, some of which have included Sakharov's signature, provided evidence they were still alive. However, expert examination, including by U.S.G. experts, indicated that an April 21 card in Mrs. Bonner's signature, had been altered. I understand that an expert witness from the FBI will be testifying further on this issue.

SOVIET INTERFERENCE WITH MAIL DELIVERY

Evidence of the tampering with Mrs. Bonner's post card raises the broader question of Soviet interference with mail. For more than an decade the U.S. Postal Service has been responding to complaints from ordinary citizens about arbitrary and unwarranted interference with efforts to maintain normal human contacts, by mail, with friends, relatives, and acquaintances in the Soviet Union. I would like to take the opportunity to highlight two particularly egregious Soviet mail practices.

In October 1984 the Soviet Freight Forwarding Company, Vneshposyltorg, decided to cease forwarding packages from abroad to Soviet recipients. This change makes it impossible

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for persons sending parcels from outside the Soviet Union to prepay customs duties. Since the need to pay customs duties in person increases the exposure of recipients to harassment and since customs duties on many items are prohibitively expensive for Soviet citizens, the effect of this decision will be to seriously restrict the flow of parcels to the Soviet Union. This is yet another step toward reducing the level of contact between Soviet citizens and friends and relatives in the West. The Soviet decision is in direct violation of the free flow of mail principle agreed to by the Soviet Union as a member of the Universal Postal Union, and is also in violation of their Helsinki Final Act undertaking to promote increased contacts among people.

Soviet Government has also interfered with emigration practices through postal practices. By Soviet law persons who wish to leave the Soviet Union, either permanently or temporarily, must receive a letter of invitation from a foreign sponsor. Officials of the Soviet Office of Visas and Registration (OVIR) have also frequently insisted that these letters of invitation be sent through the international mail. This means that applicants for exit permission must be able to produce a suitably franked envelope or their applications will not be accepted. Many letters of invitation sent through the international mail, however, never reach their intended destinations. There is strong reason to believe that these letters are intercepted and destroyed by Soviet authorities.

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The interception and destruction of letters of invitation provides these authorities with a convenient and difficult to document method of limiting emigration from the Soviet Union. This practice is in direct violation of the Soviet Union's Helsinki Final Act undertakings to promote "contacts on the basis of family ties" and to deal positively with "the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family." There is also reason to believe that Soviet authorities systematically interfere with other postal communications. This interference is also in direct violation of the free flow of mail principle agreed to by the Soviet Union as a member of the Universal Postal Union (UPU) and is a violation of its Helsinki undertaking to promote contacts among people. We have expressed concern about these violations in public fora, in bilateral discussions and intend to pursue further next month at the 1986 Bern Human Contacts Meeting.

The Assistant Postmaster General will be outlining steps taken in the contexts of the Universal Postal Union (UPU). The Department of State coordinates closely with the U.S. Postal authorities and has supported their efforts with the Soviet Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

To conclude, Mr. Chairman, we have made clear to the leaders of the Soviet Union that we want good relations. We recognize that the survival of civilization requires that we find ways to work together. However we believe that along with progress toward a safer world, there must be greater respect

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for human rights. Our request to the Soviets has been simple and straightforward: that the Soviet Union live up to the obligations it has freely assumed under international covenants -- in particular, its commitments under the Helsinki Accords.

In exiling Dr. Sakharov to Gor'kiy in 1980, the Soviet Government attempted to silence him and to remove him from international attention. This effort has failed and will continue to fail. Congressional hearings such as this one will help ensure that his message of hope and freedom will not be silenced.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify about Dr. Sakharov. If you have any questions, I would be pleased to answer them.

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Mr. YATRON. Our next witness is Mr. Duka.
Mr. Duka, please proceed with your statement, sir.

STATEMENT OF WALTER E. DUKA, ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL FOR INTERNATIONAL POSTAL AFFAIRS

Mr. DUKA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I certainly appreciate the opportunity to represent the Postal Service at this very important hearing.

In my prepared testimony, which I have submitted to the subcommittees, I describe in some detail the dimensions of the Soviet mail interference problem and some of the recent actions which we at the Postal Service have taken to try to get at this problem. And I will, per your request, attempt to summarize some of these points now.

First I would like to state that the problem is very real and very sizable. For at least about 15 years now, we at the Postal Service have witnessed many examples of the kinds of abuses that concern us at this hearing today. And for all of that time we have tried to work with the Soviet postal authorities to gain some improvement. The core of the problem, however, we think does not lie in some deficiency in postal practice; rather, as we have heard very graphically and touchingly this morning, it is clear that mail interference appears to be just one of the forms of human rights violations which are common in Soviet society.

On the postal side, we have attempted to attack this problem through every means at our disposal. We have called the attention of the worldwide postal community to Soviet violations and have made common cause with other Western nations in this effort. We constantly seek to try to remedy specific documented cases of abuse by bringing them to the Soviets' attention and, as a result, Mr. Chairman, I would say that the Soviet postal officials are very well aware of how seriously we take this problem and how determined we are despite their very frequent evasions to continue to try to press for solutions.

A highlight of our recent efforts took place at the 19th Congress of the Universal Postal Union in the summer of 1984, which Representative Gilman has already referenced. At that worldwide conference both the Postmaster General and Representative Gilman made public the full scope of the problem, and despite angry Soviet denials, our position was supported both by Israel and by the 10 nations of the European Community. We also had, as Mr. Gilman noted, unprecedented success at that Congress in winning the enactment of five technical changes to the UPU Convention that had the effect of increasing Soviet accountability for these abuses.

On a very frequent basis since then, we have sent the Soviets a stream of complaints detailing individual American mailer problems which Americans have had in getting their mail to Soviet addressees. Perhaps the most important that we have been involved in recently concern 10 registered letters to the Soviet Union that Soviet postal officials have insisted were delivered and which we believe, because of independent evidence, were definitely not delivered. Unless the Soviets relent, we intend to make this case a case for arbitration through the Universal Postal Union; and should

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this develop, it would be the first use of this mechanism to try to bring pressure to bear on this problem.

In this and other matters we have worked very closely with the Department of State, and this collaboration has resulted in our Government's making official note of the mail interference problem through diplomatic channels to the Soviets. And it is our understanding that the United States will raise the matter, too, at the Helsinki talks on human contacts in Switzerland later this spring.

As this quick summary suggests, we have stepped up our activity and taken some important new initiatives in recent months on this problem. Yet, frankly, when we ask ourselves if the situation is improving, the answer is not at all clear to us. Visible signs of progress on this mail interference problem are very hard to come by, and because of that we feel a large amount of frustration. Yet despite this frustration, I assure you that we intend to continue to let the Soviets know that we are not going to let this problem slip quietly away and that, in fact, we are going to resist these abuses by every means that we have at our disposal.

I think it is clear, too, that any permanent solutions depend on broader developments which are outside of the postal sphere.

Finally, I want to note for the record that the Postal Service recognizes that it—the Postal Service—has to be more helpful to its customers who mail to the Soviet Union and who encounter very frequent frustration in their efforts. I think we have taken a big step in this direction through the publication of the brochure which Mr. Gilman referred to before, the brochure entitled "Mailing to the Soviet Union." It is certainly, Mr. Chairman, no panacea in itself, but it does provide, I think, the best most recent information which we have on the subject and we have attempted to present it as clearly as we know how. Response has been favorable, and we are, indeed, indebted to the many organizations outside of the Postal Service who critiqued the numerous early drafts of this publication and have helped us get the finished product into the hands of the mailers who need it most.

That completes my summary, Mr. Chairman, and, obviously, I would be happy to answer questions.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Duka, for your statement.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Duka follows:]

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF WALTER E. DUKA, ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL, INTERNATIONAL POSTAL AFFAIRS

For the record, let me state that I am Walter E. Duka, Assistant Postmaster General for International Postal Affairs, here today representing the U.S. Postal Service.

Mr. Chairman, I would first like to join with the others who have congratulated you and your colleagues for holding this hearing. Americans have many difficulties in communicating by mail with citizens in the Soviet Union, and the tools available to remedy these problems are limited. Exposing these problems to public light is thus an important part of this effort.

The difficulties you have heard about today involving mail to and from the Sakharovs are not exceptional. They are shared by many Americans and people from other countries who write letters or send parcels to many Soviet citizens. And they are part of what seems a systematic effort by Soviet officials to control the flow of communications within their country.

The pattern is a familiar one, repeated many times, and the target is often a Soviet citizen who has criticized the Soviet system or been denied permission to emigrate to another country. Mail to these persons is often returned with the claim that the person has refused it, or has moved, or that the address is unknown. Or, delivery is claimed when we know from independent sources that, in fact, the addressee never received the item.

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A particular problem occurs with the shipment of parcels to the Soviet Union. Every country, of course, sets its own customs regulations on items that are prohibited or restricted for entry. In our case, the U.S. Customs Service prohibits entry of such obvious items as illegal drugs or pornographic matter. But the Soviet Union, reflecting its orientation, includes among its prohibitions religious articles and all materials which (quote) "may cause political and economic prejudice to the USSR, to public order, to health protection or to public morals" (unquote). These words, I think, go a long way in reflecting the closed society that is the Soviet Union and in suggesting why the Soviet mail problem has been so persistent.

Soviet authorities apply these strictures broadly. In addition, many of their other regulations seem to be written with intentional ambiguity to give their authorities total control over incoming items. The result is that non-delivery, return and seizures of mail items (parcels, in particular) are common. Parcel traffic was further limited in 1984 when the Soviet government revoked the ability of senders to prepay customs duties. As a result, Soviet citizens are receiving fewer goods from abroad, since many cannot afford to pay the heavy tariffs previously paid by the foreign senders at the time of shipment.

The Postal Service is well aware that these are not just ordinary mail problems. What makes them different is that they have a very important human dimension; mail to the Soviet Union has often been called, and correctly so, a lifeline from the West. And that, of course, is being demonstrated at this hearing, in the case of the Sakharovs.

I would like to be able to tell you that the U.S. Postal Service has all the answers to this problem, but I cannot. It is clear to us that the Soviets control the flow of the mails in their country and that this problem is tied to Soviet politics and the very nature of Soviet society. However, this has not lessened our desire to do everything we can, using the tools available to us, to try to improve the situation. And although progress in this matter is extremely difficult to measure, I believe our efforts have had some good effect.

Simply put, our strategy has been to keep up the pressure to have Soviet postal authorities conduct their postal affairs properly -- though we think it probable in many instances that the real control over these matters rests with political or security authorities within the Soviet Union.

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We have done this by calling the attention of the worldwide postal community to Soviet violations ... by making common cause with other Western nations in this effort ... by calling specific, documented cases of abuse to the Soviets' attention ... and by carrying on bilateral discussions with the Soviets at every available opportunity. As a result, I think Soviet postal officials are well aware of how seriously we take this problem and that, despite their evasions, we will continue to pursue it.

To be more specific, let me relate some of our major activity since I was last called on to testify on this subject.

In the summer of 1984, we publicly exposed the Soviet abuses at the 19th Congress of the Universal Postal Union (UPU) in Hamburg, West Germany, and called on the rest of the world to join us in trying to put an end to these practices. The UPU is the international agency that sets most of the regulations governing the exchange of mail between nations. Its Congresses are held once every five years and are attended by representatives of almost all its 168 member nations.

In a speech to that postal congress, former Postmaster General William Bolger said that our patience in trying to solve the problem bilaterally had come to an end, and he urged other nations to investigate and make their Soviet mail problems known. His words were strongly reinforced by Representative Benjamin Gilman of New York. Mr. Gilman conducted a number of bilateral discussions at Hamburg and issued a statement to all nations noting that the U.S. Congress had passed a unanimous resolution condemning Soviet mail interference.

The Soviets in turn denounced these statements and denied the charges. However, their words were rendered hollow when both Israel and the ten nation European community supported the United States and confirmed the seriousness and scope of the problem. Never before had the Soviets been put so much on the defensive within this international body.

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Similarly, the United States had unprecedented success in winning the enactment -- despite heavy opposition from the Soviets and their allies -- of five technical amendments to the Universal Postal Convention. These have to do with such matters as nations keeping their list of prohibited items clear and up to date and with obtaining addressee signatures on proof of delivery forms. In themselves, these amendments do not guarantee better Soviet mail performance, but they do increase Soviet postal accountability.

We have also taken every opportunity to press the Soviets bilaterally, when we have seen them at other Universal Postal Union meetings and through a fairly constant stream of correspondence. For example, at a meeting of the UPU Executive Council in Switzerland last May, former Postmaster General Paul Carlin met with his counterpart from the Soviet Union.

Further, we conduct a continual flow of correspondence with Soviet postal authorities to try to get at solutions ... and, in the process, to make clear our determination to see progress. One current exchange is particularly noteworthy, because it may well lead to an important "test case" and to our use, for the first time with the Soviets, of a dispute settlement mechanism of the Universal Postal Union.

The case involves the sending of a number of registered letters from the United States to addressees in the Soviet Union. We have what we believe is very clear, concrete evidence that these letters, ten in all, were never delivered. Yet Soviet postal officials have informed the senders and, upon our inquiry, the Postal Service that delivery was made. We recently wrote again challenging that contention and stating that if we do not get satisfaction, we will consider arbitration of the matter through the Universal Postal Union.

In this, as in many other matters concerning the Soviet mail problem, we have acted in coordination with the Department of State. This issue is taken so seriously that U.S. diplomats have raised it in direct discussions with the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Moscow. The issue of mail interference will also be raised during human rights discussions scheduled to take place with the Soviets this spring in Switzerland. While we cannot predict the outcome of all these actions, we do think that raising our response to this level represents a logical progression that builds on our successes at the last Universal Postal Union Congress.

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As a result of these actions, can we expect the Soviets to mend their ways? Perhaps to some degree, but frankly, Mr. Chairman, we think widescale improvement will be forthcoming only when we see basic changes in attitude by the Soviet government. As I stated earlier, we see mail interference as just one manifestation of the disregard of human rights within the Soviet Union, and it is hard for us to envision vast improvement in the free flow of mail taking place in isolation from the rest.

While most of our activity on this issue is directed at the Soviets, the Postal Service also recognizes that there are things it can and should do better.

Chiefly, we owe it to our customers to get them the best information we have so as to increase their ability to get mail to addressees in the Soviet Union. In this connection, we published last December a new publication titled Mailing to the Soviet Union. It sets forth as clearly as we know how our most recent information and mailing guidelines. Coupled with this, we have mounted an education effort in key U.S. post offices to ensure that our clerks are knowledgeable and able to provide the best advice to customers mailing to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Chairman, in summary, the Postal Service is currently pursuing this problem in more ways than it ever has before. We have had some successes, but we have also had a good measure of frustration with the lack of much visible progress in the way the Soviets operate. But I want to assure you we are committed to pressing the issue.

Our determination to do so has been strengthened by the facts brought out at this hearing, and we join with all of you in hoping that the plight of the Sakharovs, and many others like them in the Soviet Union, will be improved by an increased concern for human rights by the Soviet government.

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Mr. YATRON. Mr. Grantham.

STATEMENT OF STEVE GRANTHAM, DOCUMENT EXAMINER, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Mr. GRANTHAM. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity to testify before this joint subcommittee. I do not have a prepared statement, but I do have some remarks based upon my analysis, and, time permitting, I will demonstrate my findings with the use of photographic enlargements.

In July of last year, I received from these subcommittees five postcards along with a request that the correspondence be expertly examined by the FBI for any evidence of tampering or alteration. The postcards were microscopically examined in the visible light spectrum, then illuminated with various wavelengths of ultraviolet and infrared light for evidence of additions, erasures or alterations. As a result of my examination, nothing of particular significance was observed with respect to postcards numbered N-18, N-19, N-22 or N-26.

However, the postcard numbered N-21, which was designated as specimen Q3 in the laboratory, was found to contain the following features of significance with respect to tampering or alteration. It was determined that the third character of the last word appearing on the second line of the writing was altered in two respects: first, by the addition of an entry; and second, by a disturbance of the paper fibers which removed the lower right-hand portion of the character.

It was also determined that the last character of the fourth word appearing on the 29th line of writing was altered as a result of a disturbance of the paper fibers which removed the lower right portion of the character.

Additionally, a portion of the last character was overwritten, and an entry may have been added to that character. Furthermore, a divergent handwriting characteristic was noted in that last character of the fourth word on line 29.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Grantham, is that all on Q3 that you are referring to?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Yes, Congressman.

Mr. GILMAN. Maybe, Mr. Chairman, we should insert in the record the report that Director Webster provided us, at some point in this exchange into the record so that it is there.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

Mr. GILMAN. Do you have the full report of your findings?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Yes, I do, Congressman.

Mr. GILMAN. Are those in writing?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Pardon?

Mr. GILMAN. Are your findings in writing?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Yes, they are.

Mr. GILMAN. Then, Mr. Chairman, I will ask that that report be made a part of the record at this point.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

[The report of the FBI follows:]

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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Office of the Director

Washington, D.C. 20535

August 6, 1985

Courtesy

Honorable Benjamin A. Gilman
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Gilman:

In your July 2, 1985 letter, you requested that our Laboratory Division conduct an analysis of certain documents you forwarded to us. The requested analysis was conducted by the Document Operations and Research Unit and their report is enclosed for your perusal. We are also returning the documents which were examined.

Your letter also requested that our Document Examiner be available to testify about his analysis at a joint hearing of the Foreign Affairs and Post Office and Civil Service Committees. We will be happy to comply with that request subject to the arrangement of a mutually convenient hearing date. Our Congressional Affairs Office will coordinate the arrangements with your staff.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Webster
Director

Enclosures (20)

1 - Honorable Gerry Sikorski - Enclosures (6)
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

1 - Honorable Gus Yatron - Enclosures (6)
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

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FBI LABORATORY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: Mr. William M. Baker
Assistant Director
Office of Congressional and Public Affairs

July 22, 1985

FBI FILE NO.

LAB. NO. 50716093 D WJ

Re: LETTER FROM HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEES

Examination requested by: FBIHQ

Reference: Letter dated July 16, 1985

Examination requested: Document

Specimens received: July 16, 1985

Specimens:

Five postcards bearing Russian handwriting further described as follows:

SPECIMEN	NUMBER
Q1	N18
Q2	N19
Q3	N21
Q4	N22
Q5	N26

ALSO SUBMITTED:

Two photocopies of typewritten notations

One photocopy each of two newspaper articles

Photocopy of report dated 5/27/85

Three photographs

Enclosures (19)
Page 1

(over)

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Result of examination:

It was determined that the third character of the last word appearing on the second line of writing on specimen Q3 was altered by the addition of an entry and as a result of a disturbance of the paper fibers which removed the lower right hand portion of the character.

It was determined that the last character of the fourth word appearing on the twenty-ninth line of writing on specimen Q3 was altered as a result of a disturbance of the paper fibers which removed the lower right portion of the character. Additionally, a portion of the last character was overwritten and an entry may have been added; however, a final determination was not reached as to whether the overwriting and possible added entry were the result of an attempt to alter the character.

It was determined that a disturbance of the paper fibers occurred in the area separating the third and fourth words appearing on the twenty-ninth line of writing on specimen Q3. The disturbance removed portions of adjacent characters.

It was determined that the second or third character of the second from last word appearing on the nineteenth line of writing of specimen Q3 was altered as a result of the addition of an entry.

It was determined that nominally horizontal and vertical lines appearing in and under the first line of writing on specimen Q3 were altered as a result of a disturbance of the paper fibers. The disturbance removed portions of adjacent characters.

It was noted that the numeral "1" appearing within the second "21" entry appearing on the first line of specimen Q3 is divergent from the remaining numeral "1" entries appearing on specimen Q3 and on specimens Q1, Q2, Q4 and Q5. Furthermore, a divergent handwriting characteristic was noted in the last character of the fourth word appearing on the twenty-ninth line of specimen Q3.

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The presence and nature of the alterations and divergent handwriting characteristics suggest they were prepared by a different writer. However, due to the limited nature of the questioned entries, unexplained variations and insufficient comparability, a final determination was not reached.

The submitted specimens, three photographs depicting alterations to specimen Q3 and translations of specimens Q1 through Q5 are enclosed.

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TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Pictorial post card, postmarked Gorkiy, 3/197/85, is addressed to Mrs. Bonner, 54 Maplewood Ave., Newton, Ma. 02159, USA. The return address reads:

Bonner
Gagarina 214/3
Gorkiy 137
USSR

•

No. 18
March 13, 1985

Dear Mommy, my sweet babies-kids. We're alright, and outside, though slowly but surely, the spring is coming; the days are already longer and, for the most part, they're dazzling bright. For three days now we've been listening to the beautiful eternal music on TV. Right now I'm reading a book - translated for

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the first time into Russian - by F. Verfel about Armenian Genocide in 1915, or, rather, resistance to it. Called "Mosa-dagh's 40 Days" and published in Yerevan in 1984, it was sent to me for my birthday by Lid. Karp.(?) Of course it's no light reading, but it's kind of clarifying and, despite the madness of the tragedy itself, heartening. We're feeling quite well. Like all my life long I come to life with a bright day and simply with the fact that it isn't the thought of winter looming but rather the hope for the summer shimmering ahead - that's all about the weather and nothing else, but it also is nature - not weather - it's that universal ether that surrounds us. Mommy, on the postcard you see the Strastnaya Square of my childhood as I remember it, and from the streetcar's (.?.) - from where I took it to Aunt Rona's on Gavrikov and then also from here to her place on Nogin - my first tours of Moscow on my own - and, in the interior, a courtyard where my school is. Kisses from us. Kisses, Mother

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TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Pictorial postcard, postmarked (.?.), is addressed to Mrs. Bonner, 54 Maplewood Ave., Newton, Ma. 02159, USA. The return address reads:

Bonner
Gagarina 214/3
Gorkiy 137
USSR

*

No. 19 March 18, 1985

My dear, darling, sweet Mommies and children. We live quite serenely, so quietly that it can't be more quiet. After several clear days, it has again snowed here today, and if you look outside the window you get the impression the spring is far and far away. But since my daughter's birthday is five days away, it means the spring will come no matter what. On gloomy

SPECIMEN Q2

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days like today I must literally give myself a swift kick to overcome my laziness and go out at least for a short time. Of course if there was some need, this forcing yourself to get dressed and go outside would make it easier. Life is an abominable thing when all the responsibility is to feed two people three times a day and all the rest of the time is to find something to do, for it's impossible to count reading or sewing a button as being such. And books like "Mose-dagh" come out seldom. Mommy, you're saying "knitting," but for whom and what for when nothing is needed - there isn't any need for anything. Oh, well - I got going and wrote all kinds of unnecessary things. It's better I go and mail this postcard - that's a task. There is no need to go shopping - we were at the market yesterday. Kissing you all and bye. Kisses from us. Kisses, Mother

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TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Postal card, postmarked Gorgiy, 4/7/85, is addressed to Mrs. Bonner, 34 Maplewood Ave., Newton, Ma. 02159, U.S.A. The return address reads:

Bonner
Gagarina 214/3
Gorkiy 137
USSR

Kisses, Andrey

•

No. 21. April 21. My sweet darlings. Well April has come and gone. Today we were doing a major clean up in the front room and engaged in beautifying the kitchen - the spring is acting in such a way that, in spite of everything else and all kinds of thoughts, life gets it way; and everyday life isn't always unpleasant especially when it, as here, is the main manifestation of life. I'm now reading some nonsense - all three magazine

SPECIMEN Q3

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issues are boring and always about war in a tone which I don't always understand, let alone, is pleasant to me. But there're two "problem" things in "Novyy Mir" - Bondarev and some Hain (?) - "Initator," as I've gathered from my friends' letters - they are discussed by intelligentsia in Moscow, though it's incomprehensible why discuss them there. We received your telegram, but we don't know if you received the two parcels for the day of birthday presents. When you get them, let us know. Although it isn't quite warm here, brooks are flowing and the snow is melting and the sun is shining. And how is it down your way? Best regards to everybody. Kisses from us. Kisses, Mother

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TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Postal card, postmarked (.?.), is addressed to Mrs. Bonner, 54 Maplewood Ave., Newton, Ma. 02159, USA. The return address reads:

Bonner
Gagarina 214/3
Gorkiy 137
USSR

•

No. 22. April 3, 1985. My dearest. The day before yesterday we received a postcard from mother saying that you had received the presents for Sasha's and Tanya's birthdays. I'm very happy to hear that they even got there rather fast. We live quietly and unostentatiously somehow. It is the second day (two more evenings to go) we're watching a four-series detective show based on Gr. Green's "Istanbul Express" - it was one of my first American detective stories and I probably forgot many things

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or the script writers changed many things, but I view it as something new - it's interesting to watch it - it's a Hungarian movie. Today we've done a big job - cleaned up our balcony and turned over the soil in all flower boxes, but it's too early for planting anything. I think, I'll do it in a month, maybe in 3 weeks - no sooner! In the city* the snow has nearly all melted; the days are now clear and sunny, now overcast, windy but the air smells of spring and the world has no place to hide itself from it anymore. That's very good that at least in the nature, like it or not, the spring follows winter. Best regards to all. Don't hurry, mommy. Kisses from us. Kisses, Mother

Translator's note: It appears that the first letter "g" of the word "city" has been superimposed over the letter "o", which if preceded by the letter "g" would be part of the word "garden."

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TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Postal card, postmarked Gorkiy, 47/?/85, is addressed to Bonner, 54 Maplewood Ave., Newton, Ma. 02159, USA. The return address reads:

Bonner
Gagarina 214/3
603137 Gorkiy 137
USSR

*

No. 26 April 17, 1985. My dear darlings. Today I received your two, from Mommy, post cards of March 19 and March 22. Well all your questions already got their answers from my telegrams; you and I from yours. Mother, I'm waiting for you most anxiously, and I want you and the children to stop thinking that it will be harder for me or us or something of this sort. I only fear that when, instead of Sasha, Motya, Anya, and Katya (I'm not talking about those who already think they're adults and there is one - only not to us and you) you'll only be seeing us, life will seem

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to be rather empty to you. As an example, the fact that Masha fell down and was in a hospital we learned from your post card. And as for Tanya and Alesha, well at heart they can't imagine they'll be living again so far away from you. And you get all this irritability, nervousness - who needs it. You've asked for our "okay" for your coming here - I'm not only giving it but am also expecting most anxiously to see you toward the end of the summer - the early part of September. And now all of you should calm down and live quietly through these months. We know that on the 25th Tanya is going away for the holidays, but we didn't quite get which one. Well it isn't important - holidays are fine, for it's boring without them. We both are feeling well to date; today we even went to the movies despite the scum in the street (three illegible words*). We saw "Prokhindiada" with Kalyashnyy - well done. Kisses from us. Bye. Kisses, Mother

*Translator's note: Three words may have been written in parenthesis; the words were overwritten, rendering this portion illegible.

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Mr. YATRON. You may proceed.

Mr. GRANTHAM. It was also determined that a disturbance of the paper fibers occurred in the area separating the third and fourth words appearing on the 29th line of writing. This disturbance also removed portions of adjacent characters. It was determined that nominally horizontal and vertical lines appearing in and under the first line of writing on specimen Q3 were altered as a result of a disturbance of the paper fibers. This disturbance also removed portions of adjacent characters.

It was noted that the numeral "1," appearing within the second 21 entry appearing on the first line, is divergent from the remaining numeral "1" entries appearing on that specimen and on the other four postcards which I examined.

The presence and nature of the alterations and divergent handwriting characteristics suggest they were prepared by a different writer. However, due to the limited nature of the questioned entries, unexplained variations and insufficient comparability, a final determination was not reached with respect to who performed the alterations.

A copy of my report and photographs of postcard No. 21, or specimen Q3, have been provided to this subcommittee. I have brought a chart which demonstrates my findings with respect to postcard No. 21 and which was made from the photographs in your possession, and, time permitting, I would like to demonstrate these findings.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection, you may proceed, Mr. Grantham.

Mr. GRANTHAM. Starting in the lower left-hand half of this chart is an actual size photograph of both the front and the back of postcard No. 21 in the condition in which it was received. The center panel is an enlargement of the back of that same postcard which contains the areas of significance with regard to alteration. The three enlargements around the edge of this chart are further enlargements of those critical areas of interest.

I would like to demonstrate now with regard to the postcard number and the date entry. It was apparent, during my examination, that there was a pencil or graphite line of writing which was placed beneath that first line of writing and which vertically marked off certain of the handwritten characters on the postcard. This line of writing has been erased, which created the disturbance of the paper fibers which I discussed earlier.

Second, with regard to the second No. 21—of course, the same numeral "21" appears twice. I am talking now with respect to the second numeral "1." That particular numeral diverges, or is different than the other numerals "1" found throughout the postcard. Indeed, there are other numerals "1" on the front of the postcard which you have in your possession with which you can compare it and see this divergence.

Mr. GILMAN. In the number "2" there is divergence, too.

Mr. GRANTHAM. That is correct, although, in my opinion, the "2" does not diverge to the same degree as the "1."

With regard to the photographic enlargement in the upper right-hand side of the panel, through the use of infrared illumination it is apparent that a character which in our alphabet would appear

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as the letter "u" has been altered by ink, which luminesces differently in that wavelength, to create the letter "o."

In determining the nature of that alteration and its scope, one need go back to the second word preceding that entry and see that the "o" is normally made with the conventional loop on the top. That conventional loop does not appear now on the altered letter "u." Secondly, what would have been the lower right-hand portion of that character "u"—again I am referring to that in our alphabet—has been scraped away and it disturbed the paper fibers.

Last, with regard to an entry in the lower panel of the postcard, I believe that is line 29, there is a large area of fiber disturbance separating the two words which has completely removed the surface of the paper; and in so doing, has removed portions of the characters themselves.

And last, with respect to the ending character on the fourth word on line 29, there has been yet another disturbance of the paper fibers which removed the lower right-hand portion of that character. A small point or period still remains on the paper indicating the terminal stroke of that letter. Additionally, a small loop formation has been added to the top of that letter, which diverges again from the writer's habit in creating that same characteristic, or that same character throughout the sample of postcards.

I am prepared to answer any questions that you might have regarding my examination.

Mr. YATRON. We thank you, Mr. Grantham.

I would like to ask a question of each of you. I would like to ask Mr. Palmer first. Has the administration specifically raised the issue of mail tampering with the Soviet official through the Department of State in private negotiations or during the Helsinki meetings, or has this been an issue that has been handled solely by the Postal Service? And if this matter has been raised by the State Department, what has been the response by the Soviets?

Mr. PALMER. We have raised it in diplomatic channels. Not just the channels through the Postal Service, but the State Department also has raised it both in Washington and in Moscow several times. The Soviets basically don't respond.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Mr. Duka, can you tell us more about the extent of the mail interference problem by the Soviet Union? For example, in your estimation, what is the percentage of mail which actually gets through the system as compared to the mail sent to the Soviet Union?

Mr. DUKA. It is very difficult, Mr. Chairman, to put a quantity, a percentage, on this problem for the simple reason that we don't hear, we know, about all of the nonreceipt of mail and the instances of interference. What we do know is that the kinds of things we have heard this morning are very typical of the exchange of mail that takes place with the Soviet Union, and I think the best documented record we have of this pattern of abuses is the one that Mr. Gilman and the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee have accumulated over the last several years where they have put together 2,700 documented exhibits demonstrating the scope of the problem.

We tend to think that most mail does indeed get through to addressees. Where the real problem occurs is in mail that is ad-

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dressed to the so-called "refuseniks"; that is, those persons in the Soviet Union who have applied to emigrate from that country and have been refused permission, and also mailed to what the Soviets consider dissidents, such as Dr. Sakharov and Ms. Bonner. As we heard from Mr. Semyonov, he had difficulty in indicating, at least on some of that mail, what the percentage of interference would be. I think all we can say is that it is high.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Duka, in addition to the Soviet Union, what other countries are presently violating international postal agreements?

Mr. DUKA. Mr. Chairman, we have no such violations that we know about with any other country in the world. That is not to say, of course, that this kind of thing may not happen in other countries. But we have not heard of it happening. And this problem which we have had with the Soviet Union now for many years is basically unique in our experience in the international exchange of mail.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Mr. Grantham, in what manner are you proceeding with this investigation? Does the evidence that you have found with regard to the Sakharov case differ significantly, or does it follow the same pattern as other mail tampering incidents involving the Soviet Union? In other words, have you been able to decipher a particular system or a routine, while analyzing this correspondence?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Mr. Chairman, this is the only examination which I have conducted, so I cannot answer that question.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Chairman Sikorski.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Grantham, in your opinion, were these alterations done by professionals, or an amateur?

Mr. GRANTHAM. In my opinion, the nature of the alterations is rather crude. They are not sophisticated.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Have you looked at other documents and correspondence, other than the other postcards, that have been received from the Soviet Union?

Mr. GRANTHAM. No, I have not.

Mr. SIKORSKI. This is your first impression on this kind of issue?

Mr. GRANTHAM. That is correct.

Mr. SIKORSKI. There is no doubt in your mind that the photographs with obvious rubbing, the fluorescence, have been altered, to change dates and meanings of the message; is that correct?

Mr. GRANTHAM. There is no doubt that it has been altered. I cannot comment with regard to the intent. That lies outside of my area of expertise.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Since you don't read Russian, you probably can't tell the difference in the meaning, but you certainly can tell the difference with regards to the numbers.

Mr. GRANTHAM. Yes, I can.

Mr. SIKORSKI. There is no doubt in your mind that April 1 was changed to April 21, or there was an insertion of the 2 before the second 1 on that postcard No. 21?

Mr. GRANTHAM. With regard to the change of the date, there are strong indications of a change, but I was unable to reach a definite

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determination. Again, the scope of a possible change is so limited that it is very—in my opinion it was impossible to determine absolutely that that change did occur. But certainly there are very good indications that that has occurred, particularly when coupled with the other alterations on this postcard.

And I might also add that the type of alterations are peculiar only to this one postcard. The other postcards where there was any type of overwriting was done apparently by the writer merely striking over words. There were no abrasions. There were no added features to characteristics which created the divergencies.

Mr. SIKORSKI. I am a little concerned about the "wiggle" room that you have put in both—more in your testimony today than in the report that we received earlier from the Director.

Let us back up. There were alterations?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Absolutely.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Several lines. You went through in your report of the various—29th line, second line, third and fourth words on the 29th line, second from last word on the 19th line. The first line of writing you talked about the vertical and horizontal lines, the fiber disturbances, and the rest. You can't speak to the change in the meaning because you don't know what the effect of it is, but there were alterations.

Mr. GRANTHAM. That is correct.

Mr. SIKORSKI. And they were not especially professional.

Mr. GRANTHAM. Not in my opinion.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Mr. Duka, what have you to tell us about your test case, the 10 registered letters not delivered to the addressees in the Soviet Union?

Mr. DUKA. This is a matter, Mr. Sikorski, that we have been working on for the last year and a half. Originally what was called to our attention was a larger group of registered mail to four addressees in the Soviet Union. The senders of that mail from the United States to the Soviet Union talked to us and sought our assistance in trying to do something about it, and we were very desirous of assisting them. As it turned out, two of the addressees in the Soviet Union did not wish to have their names used in connection with this, and so we are focusing on 10 registered letters sent over the period of about a year in each case, to two different individuals in the Soviet Union.

We have documentary evidence, given to us, again, by the United States senders, in each of these two cases that the two individuals involved did not receive these 10 letters which the Soviets allege that they did receive. We have been taking this step by step very carefully to try to put together a well-documented, sound legal case; again, so we can for the first time use the arbitration procedures of the UPU.

Twice we have written to the Soviet Union informing them of the allegations of nondelivery. Twice they have simply come back to us and stated baldly that the items were delivered. We have given them yet one other chance to state what we think is the truth. We have yet to hear back from them this third time. When we do, we think we will have a complete case and we will pursue that, again through arbitration.

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Mr. SIKORSKI. Other than lying, in your dealings with the Soviets on these issues is it just a black hole in terms of response to the postal concerns?

Mr. DUKA. It is not a total black hole.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Enough to keep you moving?

Mr. DUKA. Oh, yes. Enough to keep us squirming a great deal and feeling very frustrated. We send them, as I mentioned in my testimony, a great stream of correspondence, particularly on individual mailer problems. Often we hear back from them, but it is many months later. And often, the nature of their response is to make some general, bald allegation and not to respond to the level of detail which we have raised.

For instance, in the case of these 10 registered letters which I have referred to in which they simply said, yes, we have delivered them, they made no effort to speak to the very detailed case which we had made in our letters to them. So we do hear from them. It takes a heck of a long time to hear from them. And frequently, when we do hear from them, they are very bland and unresponsive to the thrust of our communications.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Well, as I understand, the Universal Postal Union is a specialized subagency of the United Nations, and it has about 167 member countries does it not?

Mr. DUKA. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SIKORSKI. But this arbitration proceeding is a proceeding that results from both parties submitting to that, isn't that true? Or at least, it can be carried only at the approval of both parties?

Mr. DUKA. It can be initiated by one party but it assumes the cooperation of the other party in the sense that once the process has begun both parties are supposed to get together and try to resolve the problem. If they do not, then they are supposed to consult and come up with a third country party to this arbitration to help them come up with a decision.

But you are quite correct that the Soviet Union may not choose to take part in this.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Do you have any weapons in your arsenal to enforce the international agreements with regards to postal service?

Mr. DUKA. I think the chief weapon we have is the one we have been trying to use all along.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Do we get the money for delivering this mail?

Mr. DUKA. Well, there is a series of mail exchange payments which pass between all nations. If a nation sends another one more mail than it receives from that country, then, yes, there is a payment.

Mr. SIKORSKI. What kind of trade——

Mr. DUKA. We are about balanced with the Soviet Union, which is to say we send them about 3 million pieces of mail a year and they send us about a like amount. It differs from year to year as to who owes whom what.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you.

Finally, Mr. Palmer, when Shultz met with——

Mr. PALMER. Ryzhkov, yes, the Prime Minister.

Mr. SIKORSKI [continuing]. The Prime Minister, was this a topic? Just generally human rights was a topic?

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Mr. PALMER. Generally human rights. We only had, in terms of the Secretary's presentation, about 25 minutes, and we had to cover everything.

Mr. SIKORSKI. In the discussions before and after the summit in Geneva and in the forthcoming one here—hopefully the forthcoming one here, is this topic one that has received some attention at some level and/or will it receive attention at the next one?

Mr. PALMER. Yes, it has received attention at some level. I don't want to mislead you, Mr. Chairman, it has not been raised by the President. But it is an issue that we have raised, and we will continue to press it.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Chairman Sikorski.

Mr. Solomon.

Mr. SOLOMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Palmer, the Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded since the turn of the century, since 1901; and during this whole time has there ever been another recipient, who, like Dr. Sakharov, has been prohibited by his government from traveling to the outside world? The name Lech Walesa comes to mind. I guess my question really is: What does the Soviet Union's behavior concerning Dr. Sakharov tell us about their true intentions in this world? What does it tell us about their supposed interest in peace? In human rights, what does it tell us?

Mr. PALMER. Well, I think it speaks very loudly about the nature of that system. It is a system that we have seen in many other countries. We see that system, communism, conduct itself in very similar ways, whether it is in Nicaragua or Angola or Ethiopia or Poland—you mentioned Walesa—or the Soviet Union. It is an arbitrary system which does not care about individuals and which treats individuals as pawns. Even with outstanding individuals like Dr. Sakharov, on whom world attention is focused, they still show this kind of contempt. I think it speaks volumes about their view of man, of peace, and of history.

Mr. SOLOMON. It certainly does. And I think it just shows that communism has no respect for human rights or for life itself.

While we are on that subject—Nobel Peace Prize winners—as I recall, a little over a year ago, Bishop Tutu from South Africa testified before a subcommittee that I served on. It is interesting that South Africa, a country that is so reviled, would allow its Nobel Prize winner to travel, but it also raises the issue about a deal that has been rumored in the press recently. Is there any truth at all to the suggestion that Dr. Sakharov may be released from detention by the Soviet Union in exchange for the release of Nelson Mandela in South Africa? Is there any truth to that rumor at all?

Mr. PALMER. Congressman, I hope you will understand my answer. There are some things that it is better not to get into.

Mr. SOLOMON. Good enough.

In your opinion, is the Soviet Union caught up, perhaps, on the horns of a dilemma that they have created for themselves? And by that I mean, has the case of Dr. Sakharov become so celebrated, so well-known internationally, that the Soviets cannot afford the risk of releasing him? Do they think that if they yielded now on this important case that international pressures and public opinion

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would be that much harder for them to resist? Do you think that is a problem with the Soviet Union today?

Mr. PALMER. Well, I am certain it is an argument that some in that system make. On the other hand, they have demonstrated with Anatoly Shcharansky that in cases where there is great prominence, nonetheless, they can move. So we certainly don't accept that as a legitimate excuse for their not letting him do what he wants, and we think they have the political capability to do that.

Obviously, for the moment they haven't chosen to exercise that, but we are persevering.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Palmer, I would be the last one to suggest that Dr. Sakharov be held hostage, in effect, to foreign policy initiatives by either our country or any other country. But isn't it about time that we made absolutely clear to the Soviet Union that we will judge the sincerity of their statements about world peace by how they treat people in their own country; people like Dr. Sakharov who command such international respect? We are always told that the Soviets have—the way they go about it is that they basically are paranoid and fearful about international opinion. But I think it is about time that the Soviet Union start acting as if international opinion really meant something to them. And if we keep the pressure on, I think that perhaps, if they have any human decency at all, they will come along to that.

Mr. Chairman, I know we are short of time, we are going to have a vote. So I will just ask that question rhetorically. I know what your answer would be.

Mr. PALMER. We agree.

Mr. YATRON. Representative Gilman and Representative Smith have some questions. Do you want to ask your questions before we go? We still have a few more minutes.

Mr. SMITH. Perhaps just one or two.

Mr. YATRON. OK, why don't we do that?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Palmer, I have a couple of questions for you. In postsummit months there has been a very high expectation that there may be a relaxation on the emigration procedures for Soviet Jews. As we all know, there are approximately 300,000, depending on the estimate, that have at least initiated the process to emigrate either to Israel or some other point. Do you have any hope that in the coming months we will see a reversal of the decline in Soviet Jewish emigration?

Mr. PALMER. It has been very depressing, frankly. The figures for January and February have not been an improvement. I think Ben Gilman mentioned that the figures last year were slightly better than 1984, but they are still rock bottom figures. And therefore, if one looks at it objectively at this moment, you don't have much reason for encouragement.

On the other hand, quite prominent Soviets always argue that in the context of an overall improvement in the relations there will be an upward movement in the emigration numbers, and we have seen now in recent weeks and months an improvement in individual cases in the handling of cases.

So it is still a murky picture. But if you are asking, can we still hope and work at it, absolutely. I think there is no reason for despair at the present time. It is not frozen the way it was, say, from

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the late 1970's until 1984 when it was virtually impossible to sort of sit down with a Soviet diplomat and work cases. It is now possible to do some of that.

Mr. SMITH. Could you briefly comment on the crackdown of Hebrew teachers and cultural activists within the Soviet Union?

Mr. PALMER. Well, that is one of the things that makes you not feel that there is a clear upward movement. Because there have been recently, in Leningrad and in other cities, arrests of Hebrew activists. And even though Ilya Essas got out—I was in Jerusalem actually when he gave a remarkable speech on the 23d of last month. Even though he, the founder of the Hebrew teaching movement in the Soviet Union, after 12 years as a refusenik, finally did get out, there are still new cases emerging all the time, new arrests, new harassment. So the situation in the country definitely has not improved.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one final question before we bolt?

Mr. Duka, it seems obvious to me and you did say that there are no such violations of postal procedures in any other country of the world, that the Soviet Union commits the most egregious violations of tampering and censorship. While our focus has been principally on refuseniks and others have had these violations committed against them, have there been any strategies developed within the Postal Department to link our commercial interests? Has the Department found some method, perhaps withholding some payments, that either our country or some other country may utilize relative to the mail, so that we can get their attention? It seems that if they will talk with us—they will talk you deaf, dumb, and blind—we will see some progress in these areas as we do in the emigration of Soviet Jews. The issue remains largely, or mostly on their side. We do have some weapons I would think that we could utilize.

Mr. DUKA. We have, indeed, as I indicated in my testimony, carried on a lot of conversation with our Western Allies, who at the last UPU Congress were very supportive of our public statements.

Mr. SMITH. Do they have the same problems?

Mr. DUKA. They do; yes. Certainly the nations of Western Europe and Israel have the same problems, and mailers from other countries as well. As Mr. Gilman pointed out, in his investigations we have had evidence turned up from 27 countries altogether.

Mr. SMITH. Are they going to be supporting us in the arbitration?

Mr. DUKA. It is my belief that indeed certainly the nations of Western Europe will do that and certainly Israel and some others.

Mr. YATRON. Gentlemen, I know Congressman Gilman has some questions. If you bear with us, we will be right back.

[Recess.]

Mr. SIKORSKI [presiding]. We will resume after the vote.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Gentlemen, I am sorry we had the interruption of the voting.

Mr. Palmer, would you be able to tell us whether this issue will be raised at the forthcoming Bern conference? Whether we can raise the issue of mail interruption at that conference?

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Mr. PALMER. Yes, it will be. And in fact, as you may know, we have just had a consultation in Moscow. Our head of delegation for the Bern meeting was there meeting with the Soviets. I guess I shouldn't get into detail into what we went over already with the Soviets there, but let me just say this general area was raised already, so the Soviets already are aware of our concerns in the Bern context.

Mr. GILMAN. I am pleased to hear that. I think it was about the first time that we truly raised it in an effective manner at the Hamburg Congress, and I was particularly appreciative of the State Department's support at that time. I would hope that we can continue to place the kind of pressure it needs to get the Soviets to respond. In the past they have always told us it is an internal affair; and you have a bureaucratic process, we have a bureaucratic process; your mail service is slow, ours is slow; and all sort of excuses, but never any real improvement in the situation. The problem in all of this, of course, is that there is so little teeth in the UPU and so very little that we can do on a negotiated stance except to raise it in a public forum and try to keep it before the world nations so that we can show that they are not doing the right things. Whatever we can do to continually raise it, I would wecome that from the State Department.

Mr. PALMER. Secretary Shultz has what I think is a very effective way of dealing with this range of issues. He points out that Mr. Gorbachev and the rest of the new leadership in the Soviet Union want to enter the modern world, and he also points out that we are moving from the industrial age into the information age, and that if they want to be part of the information age they have got to understand what that requires in this specific area and more generally about flows of communications and information. That you can't have it both ways. You can't both be a modern service/technology oriented society and do these kinds of things. There is a direct conflict.

Mr. GILMAN. And we even found that the basic scientific material, National Geographic, being banned, for example, because of some of their restrictions. I guess we even found Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs was banned in the mails. It doesn't make sense, the kind of restriction on their mail services they have.

Has there been any improvement—I note in your testimony you mention the postal package delivery that had been cut off. Has there been any improvement in that situation? When they discontinued their agency over here about 2 years ago that cut off a great deal of the opportunities for our citizens to mail packages to people behind the Iron Curtain. Has there been any improvement in that direction?

Mr. Duka, do you have any information on that?

Mr. DUKA. Mr. Gilman, I have not heard anything new on that subject. You are referring, of course, to the fact that about a year and a half ago the Soviets ceased the practice of allowing people in other countries to prepay customs fees, duties, through some agencies they had here. When we have talked to the Soviet postal authorities about it, they have claimed that it is out of their hands, the postal hands; that it is a matter for their Ministry of Foreign Trade. And I have not heard anything recently that would indicate

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that they intend to reinstitute the practice of allowing prepayment of customs.

As you know well, what this does is create a hardship and, as a practical matter, cuts down the amount of packages that can be sent from the United States and other countries to the Soviet Union because the customs fees are so prohibitively high on the other end in the Soviet Union.

Mr. GILMAN. Have we raised that issue with the Soviets, to try to get them to reestablish an agency here?

Mr. PALMER. Yes; we have. That was one of the range of issues that we have raised in diplomatic channels.

Mr. GILMAN. And no response?

Mr. PALMER. No response. I think my understanding of the experience of Congress in sending letters to Ambassador Dobrynin, to which they simply don't respond, that that is also, unfortunately, our experience: in many of these areas, they just don't respond.

Mr. GILMAN. With regard to that, isn't there any way we can get the Soviets to take a better look at just responding to basic communications between our people and their people?

Mr. PALMER. Well, I think you just have to keep doing what they do in fact in their diplomacy. They are very persistent. They wear away at us. I mean, for 20 years they proposed CSCE [Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe]; they finally had their way. And, of course, we think we benefitted by using it for our own set of purposes. But I think in this area we just have to keep doing it. Whenever Arbatov appears on American television, we ought to be sure that somebody asks him this question, and make it clear to them that this is part of being a civilized nation and that we won't accept it. They want us to accept it as normal. We must say this is not normal.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Duka, could you tell us why you selected only 10 pieces of mail? We have, as you know, gathered some, I guess close to 2,000, or 1,700 prior to this hearing, and now we are going to be submitting at his hearing an additional 900 exhibits. That brings us up to a total I guess of about 2,700 exhibits of mail that has been improperly returned that should have been delivered by the Soviet Union.

Why did you select only 10 pieces?

Mr. DUKA. As I indicated, Mr. Gilman, in my testimony, we, in fact, pursue with the Soviets literally hundreds of individual cases. The reason we have focused on these particular 10 registered letters is, first of all, they are registered, which means, as you know, that they are accountable mail signed for every step of the way and on which detailed records are kept.

The second major reason is, as I tried to point out before, the two persons in the Soviet Union to whom these were addressed agreed to allow this to go forward at possible risk to themselves.

And the third, and maybe most crucial reason, is that we have documentary evidence, pieces of paper from the addressees in the Soviet Union indicating that they did not receive the registered items which the Soviet postal authorities have told us they have.

So it is a combination of those particular things which is the reason we have focused on these 10 letters. Which is not to say, sir, that we neglect, in any way, all of the other individual complaints.

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Mr. GILMAN. So these are mere examples of the hundreds of others that are out there?

Mr. DUKA. That is right. They might be taken as a typical symbolic——

Mr. GILMAN. Are these recent letters, Mr. Duka?

Mr. DUKA. Yes; well, within the last year and a half. The 10 letters were sent to the two individuals over the period of a year, and in both cases, again, the recipients have wrote back to the senders indicating they had not received any mail from the senders during that period of time.

Mr. GILMAN. And what would be our response in the event we do not get a satisfactory response from the Soviets with regard to these 10 examples?

Mr. DUKA. Well, again we will take it to the official arbitration procedures of the UPU. But as I noted in response to Mr. Sikorski's question, we have no guarantee in this, as with other dealings with the Soviets, that they will choose to cooperate. And if they stonewall and choose not to take part in this arbitration, I think we will then—I know we will then be talking closely to our colleagues in the Department of State figuring out what is an appropriate next step.

Mr. GILMAN. As I recall, at the Hamburg conference we heard from other nations that were having similar problems with the Soviet Union.

Mr. DUKA. We did, indeed.

Mr. GILMAN. Are they still having problems in their nations, as well as ours——

Mr. DUKA. They do very much continue to have similar problems.

Mr. GILMAN [continuing]. In trying to get the mail through to the Soviet Union. And are those other nations showing a little more willingness to work with us on this issue?

Mr. DUKA. I think they are. We continue to have meetings with, particularly, the nations of Western Europe whenever we get together with them at various UPU meetings, and I think there is an increased interest certainly on the part of several nations. I think our raising it at Hamburg has helped in that direction. It has helped with our allies as well as in our dealings with the Soviet Union.

Mr. GILMAN. I am pleased to hear that. Mr. Duka, I want to commend the Postal Service for the pamphlet that you prepared on how to mail to the Soviet Union. What sort of distribution have you made of this pamphlet?

Mr. DUKA. We printed 200,000 of those. We identified some 27 post offices around the country which are locations where we have most mailings to the Soviet Union. We have also made it known to all post offices and postmasters in the country, and are fielding requests from others, where they have these kind of mailings. But as important, we have been working closely with a number of outside organizations we are aware of, and have distributed many thousands of pamphlets through these organizations to the regular senders of mail to the Soviet Union.

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Mr. GILMAN. I am sure it will provide a great deal of help to those who are continually trying to communicate with relatives and friends behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. DUKA. We certainly hope so.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Grantham, I want to thank the Department for making your services available, and thank you for your testimony and your analysis of this. Can we make use of that exhibit as part of our record? Can you submit that for purposes of the record, and we can photograph it and put it into the record?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Yes; I can.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask that the exhibit entitled "Questioned Postcard" that is now being displayed in our hearing room that shows the postcard and the revisions that have been made on that postcard be made part of our record.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Without objection, so ordered.

[The postcard follows:]

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Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Now, Mr. Grantham, could you just give us a quick background of your qualifications to be an analyst?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Surely. I am a special agent of the FBI, and I am assigned to the Document Section of the FBI Laboratory, where I have been for the last 5 years. I have been an FBI agent for approximately 8 years. Upon my return to the FBI Laboratory, I underwent a 2-year program of training and study, which dealt with attendance in classroom lectures, research assignments, participation in practical exercise, and reading assignments. I worked under the guidance and supervision of the senior examiners in the laboratory assisting them in the preparation of their cases and observing their procedures.

I have a bachelor of science degree from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, NY, and a master of forensic science degree from George Washington University here in Washington.

Mr. GILMAN. And how many years have you been working in this field?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Approximately 5 years.

Mr. GILMAN. And have you examined other documents of this nature where there have been corrections or revisions and attempted to ascertain the validity of the document?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Yes; I have.

Mr. GILMAN. There is no question in your mind, then, that these revisions that you have underscored have been made by others than the initial sender; is that correct?

Mr. GRANTHAM. Congressman, it is my opinion that the alterations have occurred, and there is a strong suggestion that they were prepared by someone other than the original sender. But from an objective point of view, there is insufficient data for me to conclude that a different writer absolutely prepared them. But there is a strong inference that that has occurred.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, if I could recall for just a moment Mr. Semyonov.

Could you come up to the table a moment, Mr. Semyonov?

Could you once again tell us what the result was of these alterations that were made? What was the resultant expression of the writer as a result of the alterations? How did that change the initial intent of the writer in writing to, I guess it was addressed to Mrs. Bonner here in Newton, MA.

Mr. SEMYONOV. Well, it is addressed to all of us actually. It is in plural, it doesn't mention any name.

Well, first of all, if there was a change in the date——

Mr. GILMAN. This postcard was written by Dr. Sakharov, was it?

Mr. SEMYONOV. No; by my mother.

Mr. GILMAN. By Ms. Bonner?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Right.

Mr. GILMAN. OK.

Mr. SEMYONOV. So, first of all, if there was a change in the date its significance is obvious.

Mr. GILMAN. Well, why was that significant, the change of date?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Well, because on first of April, or in the beginning of April we are more or less sure from other sources, too, that the life of my parents in Gorky was continued as close to normal in

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their position of exile as possible. But by the 21st of April according to the reports from Moscow by Western correspondents there were rumors that by the 21st of April my stepfather was already on a hunger strike, so the time difference is significant.

If this is a real postcard written on the 21st of April, then my stepfather is not on a hunger strike. On the other hand, if it is not, then somebody has changed it to make it appear that there was no hunger strike.

Mr. GILMAN. And what was the effect of the other alteration on the card?

Mr. SEMYONOV. The one in the right-hand corner, in the upper right-hand corner changes the letter "e" in Russian, which is similar to the English letter "u," to "o" which is the Russian letter "au"; and the verb prishyol to proshyol, which is a difference in the tense of the verb. It changes the verb "have come" to "had gone"—"come away."

Mr. GILMAN. And what was the significance of the change?

Mr. SEMYONOV. The whole phrase, when originally, if the unaltered was the one with "e," or "u," character there, then the original phrase would say "now comes April." After the change the phrase reads "now April has gone."

Mr. GILMAN. In order to comply with the changed date up above, is that correct?

Mr. SEMYONOV. That is right. That is my impression.

Mr. GILMAN. And what was the significance of the third change?

Mr. SEMYONOV. The one in the lower right-hand corner changes also a verb. In the original form, the letter without the loop at the top and the downstroke is the letter "t" in Russian, and the verb is "tael," or "melting." In the changed form it becomes "tayel," which is——

Mr. GILMAN. Past tense.

Mr. SEMYONOV [continuing]. Past tense of the same verb, but also illiterate past tense.

Mr. GILMAN. I see. So in other words, the changes complied with the date change in order to show that this came about at the time he was allegedly on his hunger strike, but really the card indicates that all is well and there was nothing to be concerned about. Is that right?

Mr. SEMYONOV. Right. At the beginning of April it was natural that the snow would be melting. At the end of April the snow should have been all gone, as we checked with the Weather Bureau—the Weather Service of the United States where at the end of April the snow cover in all of middle Russia was gone.

So I would think—it is my opinion, I cannot prove it—that actually the original form of the word was taet, which is "t" at the end, instead of an "l" as it was changed; and it also had an "s" letter in front of it, which would make it more—I don't know how to explain it. It is all the difference of tenses. Because I cannot be sure about the missing letter. I don't know if there was something there. But the letter at the end is clearly a change of the tense.

Mr. GILMAN. The essential intent was to make everything comply with the 21st date to show that there had not been any problem, even though there was an alleged hunger strike going on. Is that right?

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Mr. SEMYONOV. Yes; that is the impression one gets from the postcard.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you, Mr. Semyonov.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Duka, what part of your department is keeping an eye on the interruption of mail in the Soviet Union? What section in your department?

Mr. DUKA. I have a very small department, sir. We are not really broken down into many sections. I keep a very close eye on it, so does Mr. Regan, whom you know, and we have two other people who involve themselves on an almost daily basis on the subject.

Mr. GILMAN. And that is part of the international division of the Postal Service?

Mr. DUKA. That is correct, yes; International Postal Affairs.

Mr. GILMAN. Has any written memo gone out to your postal people across the country to keep informing you of any problems patrons are having with the mail into the Soviet Union? Has there been any recent update in any of the memos?

Mr. DUKA. We have put some clarifications of regulations in our Postal Bulletin, which is our document that goes out to all post offices on a weekly basis, every week, to clarify certain points so that our clerks have correct information to give to our customers.

In addition, we gave extensive publicity in our internal publications to the "Mailing to the Soviet Union" guide—mailing guidelines booklet, and pointed out in our publicity that we wanted our people at our windows certainly to treat the customers who come to them with these problems with understanding and to send any problems which they are unable to handle at a local level to us in Washington.

Mr. GILMAN. And has there been any encouragement to send back any of the exhibits to your office in Washington, the returned mail?

Mr. DUKA. To our own personnel?

Mr. GILMAN. Yes.

Mr. DUKA. No; not really. Because you know the mail doesn't belong to us; it belongs to the people who send it and who may receive it back from the Soviet Union if they rejected it. So really that is not advice we could give to our own employees.

Mr. GILMAN. Are they advised when they have a returned piece of mail of what they can do to file a complaint?

Mr. DUKA. Our customers?

Mr. GILMAN. Yes.

Mr. DUKA. Well, that is what we, of course, are attempting to do better through this publication. Because it speaks to methods of redress as well as——

Mr. GILMAN. Are your window clerks sufficiently advised of what they should be doing to let the——

Mr. DUKA. I think, to be honest about it, we have 40,000 locations around the country and many clerks don't encounter mail to the Soviet Union very often, and there are problems in certain post offices. And again, that is part of our, if you will, internal education campaign. The reason we have recently had stories in our publications pointing out proper procedures and making this booklet available not only to outside customers, but to our own people, to our

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window clerks, is so that they can get the information straight when they disseminate it to our customers.

Mr. GILMAN. As you know, we had some testimony in the past where postal clerks were not knowledgeable and didn't know how to instruct the people, and as a result, there was no followup. I would hope you would keep the kind of priority that is indicated by this brochure on this issue, so that we can at least collect the kind of evidentiary material that would be helpful in our pressing home this point.

Mr. DUKA. Yes; we recognize, again, we have a constant necessity to educate the people who work at our windows to these regulations so they can give good advice.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Duka.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you, Mr. Gilman. Before this issue had any visibility you were there, and you deserve the commendation and salute of all of us for your continuing advocacy on this issue.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIKORSKI. We thank you, Mr. Palmer; you, Mr. Duka; you, Mr. Grantham; the FBI and the Postal Service and the State Department for assisting us.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Our last witness is Vladlen Pavlenkov, general manager, Freedom of Communication. His organization is dedicated to opening the lines of international communication between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Mr. Pavlenkov, we are going to ask you, since it is growing late and the record will be complete, and your entire statement will be put into record, we are going to ask you in the interest of time to summarize and provide for us the salient points.

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Very nice.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you.

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Excuse my poor English, gentlemen. My assistant at Freedom of Communications, Mr. George Gerich, a member of our advisory board, will help me.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, if I might interrupt, if the gentleman would yield.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Certainly.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Pavlenkov has done some outstanding work in helping the Congress to focus attention on this issue; and through his own organization, Freedom of Communications, he has prepared a number of documents and brought evidentiary material together, and made some very sound recommendations that finally were incorporated in the Postal Department's approach to the problem and a number of them were incorporated in their recent document. So he is probably one of our few experts out there in the lay population. He has spent a great deal of time on this issue.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you. Mr. Pavlenkov, do you want to summarize your statement?

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STATEMENT OF VLADLEN PAVLENKOV, GENERAL MANAGER, FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATIONS, ACCOMPANIED BY GEORGE GERICH

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Last spring and early summer we began a campaign of sending registered letters to Dr. Sakharov. Fifty-six people joined us in this campaign, among them 11 congressional letters. We have now 56 copies of such letters. Among them are 11 congressional letters, starting from Ben Gilman and last was Jim Courter. I could tell you. It is Senator David Boren, Senator Bill Bradley, Senator William Cohen, Senator Alfonse D'Amato, Representative Mario Biaggi, Representative Barney Frank, Representative Ben Gilman, Representative Robert Lagomarsino, and Representative Bill Lowery. And as a people it is simple people, but mostly they are Americans. We have eight letters from people in other countries: two from Canada, two from Iceland, one from Denmark, one from West Germany, one from Switzerland, and one from an Israeli, but this letter was sent from the United States of America.

The main results is that only one letter got through. Only one letter of 56. It was the letter of one man who personally was known by Dr. Sakharov. He said not some informal words there. He expressed in the letter his opinion about some members—a bad opinion, of the American science society. The KGB decided that this letter could distress Dr. Sakharov and delivered it.

Five letters were returned back because of some small omission of the senders. They omitted to put an apartment number. The entire address was right—street address, Gorky city, number of the home, but the number of the apartment wasn't mentioned in the address. These letters were returned with markings sometimes in French, "Addresse Inexacte," sometimes in English, "Addressee unknown," or the "Address is insufficient," and such as that.

When we started our campaign, we thought that we would help Dr. Sakharov at first. On second, our aim was to see how the Soviets are in accordance with international humanitarian and postal rules, with the postal agreements which they signed. When we phoned the Soviet authorities relative to the regulations of the Universal Postal Union and humanitarian agreements which they have agreed to carry out and the Soviets use their right to sovereignty for covering these relations. The Soviets use sovereignty for such sin. They established that in the Soviet Union it is possible to sign a return receipt by the addressee himself or by a postal worker. All return receipts which we collected now, 37 is the number of them, they are sent not by the addressee himself. Only postal workers signs them.

And all except one was false. It is very difficult to get the Soviets red-handed, but we did so. The main evidence of nondelivery of these letters was done by Ms. Yelena Bonner. I presented her copies of these letters and she determined that only one Dr. Sakharov received.

Oh, yes, we have had some other steps to check this matter. I wrote about some here. Sorry for so many mistakes, but this gentleman was not with me yesterday in New Jersey when I prepared my urgent statement.

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Mr. GILMAN. That is your statement you are going to submit for the record?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Yes.

Mr. GILMAN. I ask that the statement be made a part of the record.

Mr. PAVLENKOV. I would like to submit it for the record.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Without objection, that is appropriate and it will be inserted in the record.[1]

[The statement and supporting material of Mr. Pavlenkov follow:]

[1] See app. 2 for documentary material.

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Prepared Statement of Vladlen Pavlenkov

In May 1985 Freedom of Communications Committee (FC) suggested that Congressman Benjamin Gilman and Senator Bill Bradley, both honorary members of FC, appeal to their colleagues to write and send to Dr. Andrei Sakharov personal registered letters, with a return receipt requested, in order to break through the isolation imposed on this great humanitarian by the Soviet authorities. We thank them very much.

On July 12, 1985 FC called for public support of this letter-writing campaign. FC collected 56 copies of letters sent to Dr. Sakharov after our appeal. Among them are 11 copies of congressional letters: from Sen. David Boren, Sen. Bill Bradley, Sen. William Cohen, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, Rep. Mario Biaggi, Rep. Bill Courter, Rep. Barney Frank, Rep. Benjamin Gilman, Rep. Robert Lagomarsino, Rep. Bill Lowery.

48 letters were sent by Americans, 2 - by Canadians, 2 - from Iceland, 1 - by an Israeli (but sent from the USA), 1 - from Switzerland, 1 - from Denmark, 1 - from West Germany.

FC has 37 return receipts from the USSR all signed by postal officials, not by addressee. Such signatures are in accordance with the Soviet internal postal rules but very often return receipts signed by postal officials are returned when the mail items have not been delivered. The Soviets very strongly opposed any suggestions during Universal Postal Union Congresses to amendments which stated the necessity of personal addressee's signatures on return receipts.

We begun our experiment with the hope of helping Dr. Sakharov and his wife, Elena Bonner. We tried to break through the terrible isolation imposed on the Sakharovs in Gorky. This isolation was one of the main punishments to Sakharov and his wife. It is very possible that such isolation was, for Dr. Sakharov, more terrible then direct physical torture. The man who devoted himself to peace in the world, to human rights problems in his own country and elsewhere, was cut off from the other people of foreign lands and, as we suppose, his own as well.

At the same time we wanted to check the Soviet compliance with international postal and humanitarian agreements signed by the USSR.

Let me say a little about our process. We did inquiries through the Postal Service (using standard Inquiry Form 542) regarding registered letters on which return receipts were not returned from the USSR. Such inquiries

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were mostly made in October and November. No response has been received up to now. In accordance with provisions of the Universal Postal Convention such inquiries provide 5 months to respond. We shall wait and then will apply for the indemnity payment.

We also initiated through the Headquarters of the USPS one informal inquiry. The Soviets were asked: please confirm the delivery of these letters with return receipts. We have some doubts about their delivery because all receipts were returned without the signature of the addressee, only postal officials. As we know in the past the addressee sometimes signed the return receipts himself. More, this addressee did not answer any of these letters while some of the senders were personally known to him.

In respect of the USPS I would like to say that this informal inquiry was done. At previous times the USPS usually avoided such inquiries. I think this action was possible because of the sympathetic attitude of Assistant Postmaster General Walter Duka. Admittely, this action took too much time (about a month and half from the time of FC's request on this inquiry).

The main evidence regarding the fate of letters to Dr. Sakharov was received from Ms. Elena Bonner. I gave her copies of all letters, whereupon she determined that only one letter was delivered. All the others were not. Consequently, all signatures of postal officials on the return receipts (except one) were false.

The sole delivered letter was written by an individual who personally knows Dr. Sakharov. This man expressed his opinion about some members of the American Science Society who he thought did not do much to help Dr. Sakharov. The KGB decided to deliver this letter because it could distress Dr. Sakharov.

So, one of the 56 letters was delivered. Five letters were returned to the senders. The entire address on these letters was correct, except for the lack of an apartment number. It appears that nobody in Gorky (Post Office or KGB) knew Dr. Sakharov's apartment number, and the letters were returned with a postmark in French "ADDRESSE INEXACTE".

I am giving you the only facts. I do not make a moral judgements.

The main conclusions are:

-- the Soviet authorities violated the regulations of Universal Postal Union and humanitarian agreements which they have agreed to carry out, and

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-- the Soviets use as their own right of sovereignty to cover these violations. The Soviets use this "right" to make internal regulations as an excuse not to abide by these agreements.

What are we planning to do now?

1) receive on behalf of senders compensation for all the undelivered letters,
2) continue our letter-writing campaign and to broaden it.

It is very important and essential for Dr. Andrei Sakharov to break through the isolation. By this action we can eliminate one of the main reasons of the KGB to detain him in Gorky.

To this point it is very appropriate to mention that in the last days the senders of letters to Dr. Sakharov have begun to receive return receipts with Dr. Sakharov's own signature. A columnist of the "Toronto Sun", Ms. Genia Intrator, told me that one of the senders received such a receipt. About another I was told by Mrs. Tatiana Yankelevich. I am very glad, by the way, to mention that the "Toronto Sun" followed FC's appeal and started in January the same letter-writing campaign.

We can help Dr. Sakharov and we will do so. We are (I will repeat the last words of our July appeal) hoping that in our world there is still enough strength and good will to save the righteous.

And we will continue our efforts as long as it is necessary.

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Mr. PAVLENKOV. There is seldom dissent now that Dr. Sakharov is isolated in the Soviet Union, in Gorky City. By the way, it is my own hometown. I am from Gorky myself. It is possible to break through this isolation, and so we will try to send more letters to Gorky to Dr. Sakharov until we receive all compensations for these nondelivered letters.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Mr. Pavlenkov, I think we will turn it over to Mr. Gilman for questions at this point.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Pavlenkov, this campaign to see how the mail got through to Dr. Sakharov took place in July of last year?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. No; the first sign of this campaign was your appeal to "Dear Colleagues."

Mr. GILMAN. Yes.

Mr. PAVLENKOV. We sent the registered letters on May 21.

Mr. GILMAN. From May through August of last year?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Really we collected our letters until just this January.

Mr. GILMAN. Then you sent them all over together, is that right, or did each mailer send his letter individually?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Everyone sent his letter individually.

Mr. GILMAN. And 56 letters went to Dr. Sakharov in Gorky?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Yes.

Mr. GILMAN. And of the 56, only one was received?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Only one was received.

Mr. GILMAN. And of those, some 37 had receipts returned "address unknown."

Mr. PAVLENKOV. No, only five. Only five were returned.

Mr. GERICH. They couldn't find him in the building, no apartment number indicated.

Mr. GILMAN. Five returned "address unknown."

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Address insufficient.

Mr. GILMAN. Did the remaining have any return receipt or any indication of nondelivery?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Not any indications. But it is very interesting, in a January Canadian newspaper, the Toronto Sun, followed us and created such a campaign also. Until now, one letter was received with the personal signature of Dr. Sakharov.

Mr. GILMAN. From a Canadian sender?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Yes, to a Canadian.

Mr. GILMAN. How many Canadian letters went out?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Oh, it is not too much now. I don't know how much. I talked to Ms. Jenia Intrator in Toronto yesterday. She told me she did not have now full numbers, but they only started in January. And they will create I think more letters, but maybe about a dozen now.

Mr. GILMAN. That is an ongoing campaign at the present time?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Yes, it is continuing. We will continue our campaign, also.

Mr GILMAN. Mr. Pavlenkov, have you seen any improvement in the mail to the Soviet Union in the past 4 or 5 years?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. Five or 4 years? Only maybe the past couple months.

Mr. GILMAN. There has been some improvement are you saying?

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Mr. PAVLENKOV. Oh, improvement in the Soviet Union? Only to Sakharov.

Mr. GILMAN. Have you observed any improvement in the mail going from the United States into the Soviet Union over the past few years?

Mr. PAVLENKOV. May I use my interpreter now?

Mr. GERICH. There is no consistent improvement. But we do find there are periods where for some reason the mail is delivered more efficiently. Usually this occurs 6 months before the meeting of the UPU Congress.

Mr. PAVLENKOV. In 1984. And last year, it was after March 1985 through July 1985.

Mr. GERICH. We are trying to determine why this occurs and we do make personal inquiries, but we can't determine why this is the case. Why it improves in certain periods. And so in general these periods of liberalization of the postal policies do encourage us to continue our campaign.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Pavlenkov, do you have any recommendations that you would like to make to this committee about what we can or should be doing to try to improve the flow into the Soviet Union and out of the Soviet Union?

Mr. GERICH. I have no overall general advice I could give you. We are constantly in the process of giving specific advice to the appropriate agencies involved, and this is an ongoing practice. But at the present time I don't think it is appropriate to make general statements about what should be done.

Mr. GILMAN. No further questions. And I want to thank you, Mr. Pavlenkov, for making yourself available to us at this hearing.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Mr. Pavlenkov, I want to thank you, as well, for your continuing efforts on behalf of international communications, for the freedom of expression through the postal services. You have provided us with a helpful statement summarizing your efforts and documentation that we are going to weave into the record.

Is there anything that you have to add at this point?

Mr. GERICH. In order to show how serious we are about our efforts, I would simply like to read the last paragraph of this prepared statement.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Go right head.

Mr. PAVLENKOV. We can help Dr. Sakharov, and we will do so. We are hoping that in our world there is still enough strength and good will to save the righteous. And we will continue our efforts as long as it is necessary.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn the hearing, at this point I would like to submit for the record, to be delivered to the committee at a later date, a synopsis of 998 additional exhibits of Soviet mail interference. Prior to this hearing we had submitted 1,737 exhibits of mail interference by the Soviets. With these additional 998 exhibits, we will now have a total of 2,735 exhibits of Soviet mail interference.

Mr. SIKORSKI. Very good. Without objection, so ordered.[1]

[1] See app. 1.

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Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. SIKORSKI. Thank you.
If nothing more, we stand adjourned.
[Whereupon, at 1:07 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

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APPENDIX 1

SYNOPSIS OF 998 EXHIBITS OF SOVIET MAIL INTERFERENCE

EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE
1733 to 1,772	Congressman Barnes, Councils on Soviet Jewry, Inter-Religious Task Force & miscellaneous	35 more exhibits on Soviet interference.
1772 to 1,788	Beth El Synagogue E. Windsor, NJ	16 cases of youngsters writing to Soviet youth. All letters & parcels intercepted. Letter filed 12 Dec. Questionnaires to follow.
1,789 to 1,843	NJ Law Journal, Cong.Porter, Indivual letters from across nation.	55 more exhibits on Soviet interception.
1,844	Radio Free Europe	Commentary on history of Soviet interception, and Congressman Gilman's efforts on this problem.

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
1,845	USPS APMG DUKA'S OFFICE	Statement of claims paid by Soviet Union 1978-83 to USPS patrons in indemnities	$13,693 paid in 1978 $4,758 in 1979; $11,000 plus anticipated in 1983.
1,846	Questionnaire		No problems
1,847	222	Romanian exile blames immigration hold-up for wife's death.	Some letters to loved ones not getting through. Package for sister in Romania arrived only after he filed claim. 3 of 44 packages of literature books mailed from Romania failed to arrive.
1,848	University of London	Extensive paper written for Public International Law Course documents history of USSR mail interference.	Cites citations on "Little Black Room" in Soviet post offices. Cites allegation of "thousands of KGB agents in Soviet Post Offices."
1,849	STATE DEPARTMENT	At our request, State Department got list of new duties effective Sept. 1, 1983 in Russia. Document translated by Witness Pavlenkov of FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATIONS	Fur coat duties doubled, others doubled and tripled. See list on exhibit.
1,850	F O C	Request for USPS information on Soviet mailings for 1981 and 1982.	
1,851	Source 223	Romanian authorities charging 500 percent duty for pocket calculator and cheap wrist watch.	500percent duty on package to Romania. Package lost 9 months until claim filed, at which time it surfaced. Romanians demanding duty payable in Swiss franks, although citizens there are forbidden to possess anything other than Romanian Leu.
1,852 to 1,863	Source 224	30 percent of letters sent from Russia to him never arrive. Friends in Russia fail to receive 50 percent of his letters	Kill rate 30/50. High surchages by Soviets: $81.05 on 2 parcels returned to USA.

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
1,864	Affadavit from Ukranian Human Rights Committee		Wants to testify; documents KGB harrassment using mails as tool. 13 of 17 packages to Urkaine intercepted. Claims one Soviet-licensed parcel service gets better treatment by Soviet Postal System than does USPS.
1,865	TOLSTOY FOUNDATION	Reports that it is circulating Gilman questionnaire on Soviet interference of mail.	
1,866	Joseph Pilsudski Institute of America		No documents
1,867	Freedom House Questionnaire Source 224		Czechoslovakian authorities confiscated a book of pictures of Pope John Paul from the US-to-Czechoslovakia mails.
1,868 & 1,869	Source 225	Interception	Moscow mail intercepted. None of his letters have reached addressee.
1,870 to 1,873	Source 226	Parcel intercepted.	USPS (LA Inspector Howe) claims USPS needs more information on missing package. Romania. 1980.
1,874	Source 227	USPS accepted money on their package to Lithuania, but it never left the USA. It was returned because of improper packaging, although USPS accepted it when mailed.	
1,875	Source 228	Q. response. Source finally got indemnity for USSR mail.	

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
1,876 to 1,891	Robert Mednick, Chicago Sources: 229 to 241. Affadavit to be filed as to personal knowledge of sources in USSR.	Claims the kill rate on letters (RRR) is up from 10 percent in 1981 to 30 percent in 1983.	Mednick has agreed to be witness at Feb. 3 Chicago hearing. His testimony will corroborate that of October hearings. He is a CPA and has kept well-documented records of USPS/USSR transactions.
1,891 to 2,014	Soviet Jewry Task Force St. Louis, Missouri	123 envelopes of letters intercepted by USSR authorities. These were returned from a total of 242 mailed from St. Louis. (Six more remain in organization's central file; all others have not been accounted for.	123 returned out of mailing of 242 letters to USSR. Kill rate: 50 percent, excluding those unaccounted for.
2,015	Soviet Jewry Task Force St. Louis, Missouri	Director's letter stating USSR interception documented in call from Russian dissident	Corroborates case to date.
2,016	Source 242	Wisconsin woman reports she was in Chechoslovakia and was present when one of her packages was delivered. Surface packages take four to five months to be delivered. She has evidnece that packages on arrival in Czechoslovakia are opened prior to the presence of addressee. "Theft is very common." Items missing even when manifest list is enclosed in box.	Theft of parcel contents. Packages opened before delivery.

EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2,017	Alexander Shipov Affadavit	Four-page affadavit claims: The following countries are experiencing mail interception by the Soviets: Canada France Italy Holland Switzerland Luxembourg Japan	Japan and Luxembourg are new. This beings to 15 countries affected by Soviet interception, known to "Inconnu" investigation to date. See earlier exhibits on England, Austalia, Denmark, etc.

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2,018	255	Letter to Rep. Gilman	Received at Chicago hearing See page 37, raw transcript.
2,019 to 2,095	ST. LOUIS SOVIET JEWRY TASK FORCE		Envelopes returned by Soviets Recorded and returned to St. Louis by Eno. Not in files.
2,096	256	Angry letter re: USPS	
2,097 to 2,104	ST. LOUIS SOVIET JEWRY TASK FORCE		Recorded and returned to St. Louis
2,105	Robert Mednick	Received at Chicago hearing	
2,106 to 2,124	ST. LOUIS SOVIET JEWRY TASK FORCE		Envelopes recorded and returned.
2,125	EUGENE GROSSMAN		Package references, Chicago hearings. 2,155 letters mailed by or to him in Chicago. Loss or problem mail: Postcards, 11 percent problems, most were undelivered. Regular letters: 54 percent had problems. Registered letters: 36 percent had problems. Small packets: 46 percent had problems Parcels: 80 percent not delivered at all. Witness defines problem as: tampering, unjustified return, partial loss, substitution.

EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2,126 to 2,128	Chicago hearing	Surcharges to three packages	
2,129 to 2,137	Witness Hirsch at Chicago hearing	Pink cards forged and packages returned	
2,138	Chicago hearing	Sister Gillen exhibits on padded envelope and newspaper clipping	
2,139 to 2,141	257	Three large envelopes looted. Complaint of packages not received Philadelphia	Looting
2,142	Witness MEDNICK (Chicago)	Letter of further complaint to USPS 3/26/84	
2,143	USPS	Proposals for UPU Convention	
2,144 to 2,186	Various letters, questionnaires to Congressman Gilman. All complaints about Soviet Mail Interception		

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2187	244	Mail not delivered despite the claims of the Soviets.	Soviet Authorities claim that the mail has been delivered. However, phone conversations between sending and receiving parties find the opposite is true.
2188	245	Mail reciept returned.	
2189	246		Memorandum of interview concerning the role of Cosmos Parcel Company in the sending of mail to the U.S.S.R. Goes into detail of the abuses by both Soviet and Cosmos Parcel authorities.
2190	247	Soviet Mail Questionaire return.	
2191	248 (R.C.D.A.)		Newsletter from R.C.D.A.
2192	249 (Heritage Found.)		Newsletter from the Heritage Found.
2193	250		Letter requesting a copy of the hearings on the Soviet mail interuption.
2194+5	251	Delivery of several exhibits.	Packing slips from Federal Express for items sent by R. Mather of the Jewish Community Religious Council.
2196	252 (NITFSJ)	Memorandum	
2197	253 (Ukrainian Humah Rights Committee)		
2198	254	Retour-Non-Delivery	
2199	257		SMOLOSKYP QuArterly news journal.

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2200	258	U.S. Postal response concerning the return slips for registered mail.	Soviet regulations appearently don't require that the addressee sign for registered mail. Soviet postal authorities can sign and return the reciept in the "next days mail." This is in accordence with the Universal Postal Convention according to U.S. postal authorities.
2201 to 2204	259	Complaintant had to pay GLOBE PARCEL $802.25 to mail three parcels. Includes pre-paid duties	See GLOBE BANKRUPTSY file
2205 to 2206	260	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	Some pictures mailed to respondent from USSR were not recieved.
2207	Shipov	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	Lists 11 things he can make a statement about.. For example, non-delivery to friends and reletives in Moscow.
2208	261	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	Correspondent has been Czechoslovakia visiting a relative when a package arrived that she had sent. Packages Packages don't arrive for 4-5 months. The costs for sending them are so high. Letters are "lost" many times.

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2209	Melnik	Testimony Chicago	Written transcipt
2210	262	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	Mail receipts bear unknown signatures
2211	N.I.T.F.S.J.	Copies of international communications documents	"Purpose is to find some means for redress of grievences concerning the Soviets flagrant abuse of these agreements."
2212	263	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	"3 good sized" Christmas packages sent to Czechoslovakia 11-19-83, with almost $100.00, were not recieved according to a letter dated 1-10-84. There has been no previous problem before.
2213	264	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	
2214	265	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	One Package sent was "turned abroad ship." Another was confiscated because a blanket enclosed in it had been "hand hemmed." Parcels are returned "Retour Interdit Par La Douane" with the U.S. Postal Service stamps "importations prohibited" which is viewed as "sanctioning the illegal act by the Soviet (KGB) Postal Service" according to respondent.
2215	266	Letter of inquiry to Mr. Gilman	2 letters sent a month apart requested mail. Return recieps have never been received. These letters were mailed "over one year ago".

2216	POMOST ANDREZEJ JARMAKOWSKI	Letter listing the most important agencies in U.S. sending packages to Poland	
2217	J.B.A.N.C.	A woman, who had delt with Globe Parcel before on several occassions, had sent packages just before the Globe Bankrupcy.	She is trying to find the whereabouts of the packages she had sent.
2218	267	Letter sent to a 13 year old boy is returned unopened	Respondent was advised to address the letter to the Father instead.
2219	268	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	
2220	Lithuanian Information Center	3 letters returned "addressee unknown".	
2221	269	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	
2222	270	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	1 in 5 letters sent by respondent are sent requested. However, even if all were sent registered, there is no quarentee they would be recieved.
2223	F.O.C.	Letter of thanks to Mr. Gilman for his letter and supplements they recieved.	
2224 to 2248	Various letters of Complaint to Congressman Gilman re: Soviet Interference with International Mail.		
2249 to 2250	National Conference on Soviet Jewry	2 letter returned "retour inconnu"	
2251	271	Photograph taken in USSR of mail interference log maintained by Soviet citizen.	American tourist heard about Mr. Gilman's investigation and found Soviet citizens themselves are

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			keeping logs of missing mail.
2252 to 2264	LORNA ALDEMAN (Washington Witness)	New letter of complaint. US Postal Service is accepting Soviet allegation of delivery without proof. She says kill rate on her letters is 60 percent.	USPS doing very little to demand proof of delivery. She gets back duplicate return receipts, saying originals were dislodged, but but RRR cards are still returned to her in tact.
2265 to 2274	Bob Mednick (Chicago Witness)	"I have received five separate notifications that the foreign administration reported that the article was delivered to the proper person. In no case was there any pink card or other proof of delivery attached. Copies of these five notifications are also enclosed for your information." "I have known all along that such assertions about delivery from the Soviet postal authorities were merely lies. I know the people to whom I am writing very well and not only would I have gotten back a pink slop if my letters were delivered but I would also have received a reply. Now I have specific proof of such lies. Enclosed is a copy of a holiday greeting card from Dr. Armen Khachaturyan (to whom I most recently have written on 9-2-83, 11-15-83 and 1-26-84) asking if everything is OK since "we don't hear about you almost one year." "I am also going to attempt to get statements from the other Moscow families who have had letters from me stolen despite statements from the Soviet postal authorities to the contrary."	

2275 to 2284	LORNA ADELMAN (Washington Witness)	It is ludicrous that the US Postal Service does not put more pressure and demand delivery or pay indemnity."	
2285	Northern New Jersey Council B'NAI B'RITH	"this is the first inquiry we have seen from the USSR."	
2286 to 2308	Letters endorsing 294	All writers want their names withheld, for fear of Soviet reprisals against their friends and families	
2309 to 2317	Lorna Adelman Washington Witness	Eight more exhibits showing confiscation of mail.	
2318	Same	Package of vitamins intercepted and returned twice. These pills had been requested by family of Soviet inmate which said he needed them.	Disposed of exhibit due to smell of the vitamins. 2/4/85
2319 to 2344	Complaints filed with County of LA, Department of Consumer Affairs re: GLOBE PARCEL BANKRUPTSY	Print-out indicates each was charged between $140 and $280 for their parcel fees by Soviet-licensed parcel agency operating in LA.	
2345	Source 272	Physician in Rockville, Md., having probelms with getting his letters thru to USSR.	
2346 to 2359	Unsolicited letters	Support of 294, complaints about International Mail Service	
2360 to 2380	Source 273	20 more returned letters and RRR forms, some bearing forgeries of Uli Moscow and Barashevo classic (two signatures previously found on documents returned from different location, indicating a Central Facility forgery/interception operation by KGB).	

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2381 - 2384	Source 274	Letter of statement of problems with Soviet mail;i.e. parcels not delivered and charges.Submitted copies of various documents in Russian.Also suggested various proposals for improvement of international mail.	
2385- 2387	Source 276	Letter from Russian brought back to the States by a Congressman.	
2388	Source 277	Numerable problems with Soviet mail outlined; non-delivery of mail and various charges.	
2389	Source 278	Testimony of NYC witness. Various copies of information submitted;letters,receipts, parcel receipts that document problems.	
2390- 2394	Source 275	Information received from Congressman pertaining to various mail problems, in Russian and English. Copies of receipts.	
2395- 2404	Sun City West Jewish Federation	10 exhibits of mail and receipts that illustrate problems with Soviet mail.	
2405- 2406	Source 279	Letter and receipt returned in individual for non-delivery to Minsk, USSR.	
2407	Source 280	Letter from individual trying to maintain correspondence with Romania.Itemizes list of 60 plus parcels and letters not delivered and not returned.Maintains that confiscation and theft is common.Individual sends academic material and is told it is prohibited.	
2408- 2410	Source 281	Letter, receipt and various copies of undeliverable letters to USSR.	
2411- 2413	Lindsay,Hart,Neil and Weigler(Esqs.)	Copies of receipts for packages sent to Latvia through Globe Parcel Service. No Confirmation of delivery.	

EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2414-2419	Source 282	Various copies of receipts for letters sent to USSR and received.	
2420-2424	Source 283	Copies of update on letter sent to USSR that have had problems.	
2425	World Federation of Free Latvians	Report of 31 various cases that encountered mail problems. Highly detailed.	
2426-2427	Source 284	2 Receipts sent through Globe Parcel Service.	
2428	Mr. Gilman	Letter sent to Sec. Schultz in complaint of Globe Parcel Service.	
2429-2433	Action for Soviet Jewry	5 exhibits; letters and receipts of non-delivery to USSR.	
2434	Source 285	Letter not delivered to addressee in USSR despite proper address.	
2435	Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry	Letter of complaint of not receiving receipts for letters sent to USSR.	
2436	Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry	Letter from NYC attorney.Gives 3 brief synopsis' regarding non-delivery of mail to USSR.	
2437-2438	NONE	Photos of returned items from USSR.	
2439-2446	Chicago Conference on Soviet Jewry	Wrappings and receipts of non-delivered mail to USSR.	
2447-2448	Mrs. Kennelly	Letter and receipt to woman in USSR not delevered.	
2449-2453	Beth El Synagogue East Windsor, N.J.	Several questionnaires on Soviet Mail.	
2454	Source 286	Complaints of charges by Soviets on mail returned to the US.	
2455	Lithuanian-American Community of USA	Memo documanting Soviet interference of mail in Lithuania.	

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2456	Source 287	Exhibits of non-delivered letter although address is correct.	
2457	Source 288	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	
2458	Source 289	Letter from USSR agency encouraging corredpondence between US and USSR to Girl Scout Troop Leader in Arizona.	
2459	Source 290	Copies of receipts of delivered mail to Estonia.	
2460	Orchard Lake Schools Orchard Lake, Michigan	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	
2461	Source 291	Letter with example of Soviet tanpering of mail.	
2462	Source 292	Letter detailing exmaples of Soviet tampering of mail.	
2463	Source 293	Wrapper of package returned to US that was sent to Armenia	
2464	Source 294	Receipt that illustrates surcahrges for returned parcels to the US. ($24.25)	
2465-2466	Source 295	Letter and receipt of non-delivered mail to the Soviet Union	

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2467-2468	Source 296	Form 4314-C and attachment for complaint of non-delivery of mail and refunds.	
2469-2472	Temple Beth Shalom and JCC of Sun City, AZ.	2 receipts without proper signature for delivery and 1 returned letter with receipt without signature.	
2473-2474	Source 297 #2474 located in safe	Letter in complaint of mail surcharges to reclaim package not delivered to USSR and package that was delivered.	
2475	Source 298	Letter translated into English from Russian. Compalint of non-delivery of ail to USSR and false signatures on receipts.	
2476-2484	Source 299	9 letter and receipts. Complaint of non-delivery of mail to USSR.	
2485	Source 300	Soviet Mail Questionnaire.	
2486	Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry	Letter from man in USSR sent to Ministry of Communication(USSR). Complaint about responsibility for return receipts.	
2487-2490	Jewish Federation of Broome County, NY	Inquiry slip, response to non-delivered mail and sample of card sent and copy of editorial that appeared in paper.	
2491	Source 301	Letter from P.O. explaining that an article was delivered and not to question this.	
2492	Source 302	Letter of complaint and letter from Russia(1979) conplaining of Soviet practices.	
2493-2495	Source 303	Copies of letters and receipts documenting non-delivery of mail to USSR.	
2496	Source 304	Complaint of Soviet interference of mail.	
2497	Source 305	Letter in compalint of Soviet interference of mail.	

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2498	Source 306	Letter in complaint of Soviet interference of mail.	
2499-2500	Action for Soviet Jewry	Letter and receipt. Documents non-delivery of mail to USSR.	
2501-2506	Source 307	Letter in complaint of Soviet interference of mail and 6 receipts of non-delivered mail.	
2507	Source 308	Soviet mail questionnaire.	
2508-2517	Source 309	Several letters and envelopes documenting interruption of mail by the Soviet Union from Israel.	
2518	Source 310	Soviet Mail Questionnaire - states that there are many problems in the Soviet Union in receiving mail.	
2519	Source 311	Letter documenting packages and monies owed from the bankruptcy of Global Parcel Service.	
2520	Source 312	Soviet Mail Questionnaire	
2521-2529	Source 313	9 photos showing non-delivery of 4 parcels to USSR. Returned marked - importation prohibited.	contents of one parcel shown as: winter jacket. dress, makeup, stickers.

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2530-2559	Source 314	Cover letter with enclosures documenting Soviet intereference with international mail. Copy of advisory listing Soviet citizens that may not receive parcels, and RRR documentation (copies and originals) showing undelivered mail and varying signatures. Copies also of U.S. Postal Service inquires.	Enclosures annotated by source.
2560-2572	Same	Exploratory cover letter and RRR enclosures for mail sent to Estonian prisoners. Signatures vary or are non-existent.	Barashevo signature noted again.
2573-2574	Source 315	Letter and copies of receipts for letters not received in the Soviet Union.	Under investigation.
2575-2576	Source 316	Letter wth receipt showing " Retour Inconnu ".	
2577-2578	Source 317	Letter and receipt - " Retour Inconnu ".	
2579-2580	Source 318	Letter and receipt - " Retour Inconnu ".	
2581-2597	Source 319	Letters of protest to U.S. Post Office Claims and Inquiry concerning non-delivered mail to Soviet Jews. Copies of postal investigation and RRR's with irregularities in signatures.	Complaintant claims anti-semitism and requests indemnities.
2598-2613	Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry,	17 letters and RRR's sent to USSR returned. Letters are marked: " Parti Retour; Retour Inconnu; and Retour Interdict ".	Sent individually to a husband and wife still resideing in the Soviet Union.

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2614-2615	Source 320	Cover letter and 2 RRR, documenting undelivered mail to USSR.	
2616-2618	Source 321	Cover letter, 2 record sleeves with inserts, and correspondance from British Postal authorities. Soviet confiscation of cultural material.	1. 4th Latvian Song Festival, not delivered to addressee. 2. Both records confiscated by by Soviet authorities in Moscow, when brought into the country by members of a traveling Latvian choir.
2619-2621	Source 322	RRR; Package and RRR.	Package returned to sender unclaimed. RRRs contain no information at destination.
2622-2651	Same	31 customer copies of receipts for registered mail dated July 30 & August 1, 1984	
2652	Source 333	Package wrapper. Importation prohibited.	
2653-2662	Lithuanian Information Center	10 RRR's	Barashevo signature in evidence.
2663-2680	Same	Cover letter and 18 Christmas cards returned - " Retour Inconnu ".	
2681-2683	Source 334	Copies of: RRR; filing of 542 form, and reply from U.S. Post Office.	

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2684-2686	335	Cover letter, return receipt without signature	For years person has corresponded, suddenly all answers have erased and return receipts are no longer signed
2687	336	Cover letter about 2 letters - lost in transit	
2688-2689	Alabama Council to Save Soviet Jews	Return receipts without signature	
2690-2691	337	Return receipts; returned without signature one without checked delivery box	
2692	335	Cover letter signed; dated receipt and returned letter	Has received advice of delivery signed and dated. Also received returned letter addressed to same.
2693-2694	338	Cover letter @ lost letter and i properly signed receipt.	Signature not addressee's.

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFICANCE	COMMENT
2695	339	Cover letter, return receipt without signature	
2696	340	Cover letter about returned package without explanation	Refuses to pay return charges without better explanation
2697	341	USPS inquiry about supposed delivered letter with evidence to contrary	
2698-2699	Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry	Cover letter and cooresponden that packages and cards sent from USSR have not been received in U.S.	
2700	342	Cover letter; USPS inquiry	Letters intercepted for two years; magazine subscriptions not received since January 1985
2701	Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry	Letter from V. Lifshitz, Israeli citizen under arrest in the Soviet Union	His letters have been confiscated. Lost contact with family and friends in Israel, U.S. and Great Britain
2702	Committee of Concerned Scientists, Inc.	Cover letter, letter from Soviet Computer Scientist	Letters being intercepted and many feel that citizens should profit from this-fines should be given to those with mail that is terminated.
2703	343	Cover letter, returned receipt and USPS record	A package containing a child's hat and gloves was sent on 2/18/85, as of 4/18/85, it still has not arrived.
2704-2705	344	Cover letter, 2 USPS inquiries about 3 letters	Three letters and documents were sent to her husband in Moscow, but never were received. Each letter was insured for $25.00; therefore, she feels she should be given $75.00 (the total for all letters). Letters were said to "have been delivered to the proper person," but later she was informed that the letters "have never reached the U.S.S.R."
2706	Union Councils for Soviet Jewry	Cover letter; letter from M. Lifshitz to Soviet Council concerning: Documents confiscated; letters returned with "Retour/Inconnu;" letters returned without explanation; postcards returned with "Retour/Art.36, 4UPC; books and art albums confiscated; parcels containing products and clothing were returned.	The attitude of the Soviet Post toward the Soviet Jews is directly related to Jewish politics.

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EXHIBIT	SOURCE	SIGNIFCANCE	COMMENT
2707-2719	Lithuanian Information Center	3 letters returned "Retour/Innconnu", 4 unsigned return receipts, 4 return receipt signed "for" 1 with classic postal addressee initials.	
2720-2723	Freedom of Communications	3 letters concerning dissident Lazar Rulyor-Kagan	Labor camp in Soviet Union confiscates personal letters from prisoners.

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